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THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

COVER: Superconductivity, once a dead 64 end, becomes the hottest thing in physics

Flying trains, Practical electric cars, Dime-a-dozen medical imaging machines. Normally cautious scientists are talking seriously about the prospects for these and other blue-sky inventions. Reason: a rapid-fire series of breakthroughs in substances that conduct electricity with perfect efficiency could eventually revolutionize technology. See SCIENCE.



NATION: As the Iran-contra hearings begin, the White House feels the heat

With a surprise opening witness, a select congressional committee explores a secret privatization of foreign policy designed to defy Capitol Hill on contra aid. ▶ The first criminal casualty of the affair pleads guilty and points a finger at Oliver North. ► A varied cast of characters get ready to face a grilling. ▶ New social clubs offer AIDS screening for littery singles.



ESSAY: Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel 93 examines the trial of Klaus Barbie

The "Butcher of Lyons," who eluded his postwar pursuers for almost 40 years with help from the U.S. and other governments, goes on trial next week for crimes against humanity. Will Klaus Barbie, seized by Nazi-hunters in Bolivia and extradited to France, now name those who assisted him in escaping justice and force a judgment day for nations as well as individuals?



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Biennial is back: less

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Cover:

Illustration by Philip Castle

A Letter from the Publisher

ast summer passed painfully for Margie Brauer, 60, and her husband Ernie, 69, one of the thousands of American farm families who have been battling hard times. Mired in debt, the Norlina, N.C., couple declared bankruptcy in April 1986. Then, facing foreclosure on the 228-acre farm that she and Ernie

had worked for 40 years, Margie wrote an eloquent letter to a court-appointed trustee, expressing the hope that she and her husband might somehow retain their self-respect as they went through the agonizing process of giving up their home and land. TIME reprinted that letter (NATION, Sept. 8), prompting an outpouring of mail from across the U.S. and half a dozen foreign countries. Many of those letters offered not only sympathy but



also financial assistance (A LET-TER FROM THE PUBLISHER, Sept. 22). The money, about \$22,000, helped ease a bit of the financial strain on the Brauers. though their total assets of \$413,000 fell far short of the \$678,000 they owed. Last November, Margie and Ernie watched as their cattle were taken away, but they were allowed to remain in their home until the rest of their property could be sold

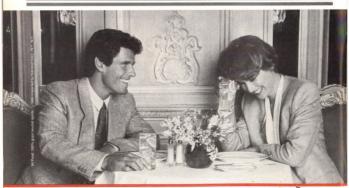
Then, unexpectedly, came an event that Margie Brauer calls the "turning point in our lives." A Dutch-born businessman who lived in Switzerland read about the couple's difficulties. He had always been grateful to the U.S. for the part its Army played in helping liberate the Netherlands in World War II. Acting through an intermediary in February, the businessman (who insists on anonymity) gave the Brauers 100,000 Swiss francs-about \$60,000. Ernie, an Army veteran who fought in

Holland during the war, said simply, "Thank God." Margie was more expansive. "I had accepted the fact that things would never be the same again," she said. "It's just a blessing."

The money made it possible for the Brauers and their lawyer to work out a deal with the bankruptcy trustee to buy back the farmhouse and 38 acres. Last Thursday a county clerk recorded the deed in the Brauers' name. Margie, who had taken a

job as a hospital secretary to supplement Ernie's \$300 monthly Social Security check, sat securely in her kitchen last week. "I look out my window," she said. "Our view is so lovely from the house down to the creek. It has never been so green." But then she added quietly, "So many good things have come to us. In a way I am embarrassed. I still hurt for those who are so much worse off and have no recourse."

Robert L. Miller.



What did you do to deserve Beefeater?



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Letters

Bugged Embassy

To the Editors.

In your attempt to illustrate the events at the U.S. embassy in Moscow [NATION, April 20], you have smeared the U.S. Marine Corps with your cover of the Marine with the black eye. Although I served in the Army, I am sickened by your insinuation. There were only a few Marines involved in the incident. Your cover makes it look as if you are out to get the whole Corps. You owe an apology to many dedicated Marines.

Charles F. Murphy Jr. Stamford, Conn



Who was the spineless, whimpering editor who approved this cheap shot at the Marines? He should spend a little time at a Marine Corps base asking Marines how they feel about giving secrets to the Soviets. By suggesting, as you do, that the mistakes of a few misguided souls symbolize the ineptitude of the entire Corps, you are tarnishing the pride of the Marines. That implication is not only an injustice, it is enough to give true Marines a knot in their stomachs. I do not like the way you portrayed my Marine Corps, not one damn bit. Why don't you show the Marines how much literary backbone you have and print this contrary view? James L. Coster

Cambridge, Mass.

As a former Marine corporal, I was saddened by your cover. My question is After the slaughter of more than 200 Marines in Beirut, why wasn't President Reagan on the cover with two black eyes? Paul L. Gremmels

Glenwood, Minn

What have we as a nation done to instill in our youth an attitude that condones the thrill of the moment? Are the desire for extra money and the need for pleasure so important to our young people that they will abandon their consciences and betray their country? Perhaps television is the source of this life-style, or maybe our busyness. Whatever, we appear to be a society that has become so shallow that we have lost our integrity

Sandy Darby Aurora, Colo.

I do not blame the Soviets for bugging the newly built U.S. embassy in Moscow Spying on your enemies is a normal part of international affairs. I blame the U.S. security experts who did not foresee or prevent this expensive fiasco. Jason Cohen

Oak Park, Ill.

Thatcher in Moscow

After reading about British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit to the Soviet Union [WORLD, April 13], I feel I must respond to the hypocrisy of Thatcher's comments on human rights. Before she can criticize the Soviets for the way they deal with their dissidents, Thatcher should turn to her own backyard-Northern Ireland-where democracy has ceased to exist since the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. The pact endangers the civil rights of citizens in an integral part of the United Kingdom, namely Northern Ireland, and gives a foreign flag equal status with the Union Jack. In contrast to the Soviet citizens who turned out in droves to welcome Thatcher, we in Northern Ireland look upon her as someone who has only added to our pain, anger and distress. Ian Paisley Jr.

Belfast Young Democrats Belfast

DINK Ado

The article describing DINKs (doubleincome, no-kids couples), who are the new subset of highrollers [LIVING, April 201, omitted my acronym, I am a SINK (single income, no kids). A friend of mine is a SUNK (single, unemployed, no kids). Cheryl A. Harper

Charlotte, N.C.

My husband and I spent years DINKing around, until 1987, when we built a home and had twins. We are now PHOBS (previous highrollers, on a budget). Karen Dreher Burdick

I will settle anytime for the FIKs (fam. ilies including kids).

Emile Karson Potomac, Md

Livonia, Mich.

Among our friends, the more appropriate acronym is SICK (single income, couple of kids).

Ann Dallavalle Pasadena, Calif.

Not all couples who are childless by choice have it all. It is perhaps more valid to examine the motivation of those who choose to reproduce without considering how they are going to support and nurture their youngsters.

Myrna F. Solganick Middleton, Wis.

What about that classy group, the SWANKs (single women and no kids)? Mary Louise Kearny

DINK couples say they cannot have children because they do not have the time for them. As a Turkish exchange student, I see this decision as an expression of extreme egoism and a reflection of America's fast life-style. In my country, we encourage having children. Most husbands and wives have to work just as hard as DINKs to make a living, yet Turkish

couples still find time for family life. Kamuran Godelek Greensboro, N.C.

The DINKs will not be with us for too long. If they do not start having babies soon, they will make themselves exdinkt. Sheldon Pine Zurich

Burnished Sunflowers

In his review of the auction of Van Gogh's Sunflowers [ART, April 13], Robert Hughes refers to the picture as "dead," "callused" or "reduced" because of "unstable" chrome yellows. On the contrary, this canvas of sunflowers is sublime. Vincent's brother Théo supplied Van Gogh with the best paints Théo could buy. While working on a book on French sunflowers and Van Gogh's paintings, I encountered a botanical phenomenon. Sunflower colors change with age, weather, time of day and even the soil-burnished gold, burnt lemon, dusty ocher and pumpkin orange. Van Gogh simply painted these flowers as he saw them, exaggerating nothing. The painting on the auctioneer's easel showed the real thing.

David Douglas Duncan Mouans-Sartoux. France

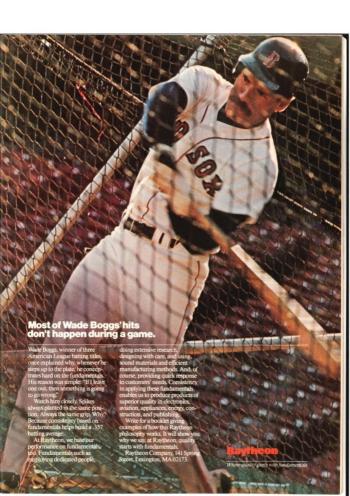
Hospital Care

In your article on New York Hospital [MEDICINE, April 27], I am quoted as saying, "We have done many terrible things in the past." Such a statement could be construed as relating to the care we give our patients. I certainly never intended to imply that the care provided by our excellent medical and nursing staff is anything less than first rate.

David D. Thompson, M.D., Director New York Hospital New York City

Airing Racism

I watched the ABC Nightline program when Dodger Vice President Al Campanis made racist remarks about blacks



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Letters

(SPORT, April 20). It is inconceivable that the Dodgers' owners did not know Campanis' attitude. For management, his sin was not to harbor racist views but to express them openly. Let us hope that these same officials will no longer tolerate derogatory comments in private any more than they do in public.

Hwa-tsun Feng Kent, Wash.

The U.S. has come a long way since 1947, when Jackie Robinson broke the color harrier by joining the Brooklyn Dodgers Eliminating racial discrimination enriched America's favorite game immeasurably because it enabled countless talented athletes to play in the major leagues. Of equal value to breaking the color line would be a program to promote athletes into managerial positions Merit alone did a fine job on the field: it will work equally way the properties of the program of the p

Jonathan G. Solomon Hampton, Va.

Trading with Japan

Working and the important of the importa

Kankichi Itani, President Itani Trading Co. Ltd. Tokvo

If, as Senator Pete Wilson says, we are "at war with Japan," then there are an awful lot of American firms engaged in traitorous business. I work for a Japanese company whose main customer is an American firm that buys Japanese components. Because of these imports, the American company has been laying off workers and closing factories in the U.S. At the same time, it is steadily increasing its purchases of parts from my firm. Four years ago. I came to this country to learn how to succeed in selling to the Japanese. I now wonder if I have not been wasting my time. Many American businessmen would simply rather buy directly from the Japanese than face the task of having to compete against them

Frederick Locke Tokyo

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME. Time & Life Building. Rockefeller Center. New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home felephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

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TIME, MAY 11, 1987

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Tom Rush has a guitar, a farm, a family and a central organization

ou made a record, and everyone bought it. Then you went on tour. and everyone lined up for tickets. That was all any of us knew about the music business, and that included the people who ran the business." The speaker is Tom Rush, a folk singer, acoustic-guitar operator and onetime rambling man with some mileage on him. Just now, like other New Hampshiremen in Mud Season, he feels entitled to be a touch grouchy. There was plenty of snow for cross-country skiing this winter on the logging roads around his big hillside house, but the maple-syrup season was no damned good at all, and then outrageous rains flooded nearby roads so that Keene and Concord were just about unreachable. Blackfly season is not more than 15 minutes away Still, the sun is shining, just barely, and yes-a sour grin-even the music business is beginning to show signs of life

Rush, a lean, easy-moving, mustached fellow of 46, got his start as a folkie in Cambridge, Mass, when he was a sophomore at Harvard Joan Baze was beginning to make a name in Cambridge then, and both of them played at a folk hangout called Club 47.

mingour cancer (universal measurements). That was in 1946 is an III of the senses to Freight Team now call, with the needling of survivors, the "great followings of survivors, the "great followings sare of the 60s." For the rest of the decade and part of the "70s too, Rush spent most of his time on the road, as he recalls now, playing concerts and club gibs, esting a lavender and club gibs, setting a lavender and from stage gibts. finding his moments of repose watching the mysterious turning, turning lights, finding his moments of repose watching the mysterious turning, turning of any order of the service of the s

baby, make love to you, hey, hey, hey, I'm on the road again." Now when he sings it, a rooted New Hampshire householder with a wife and two young sons, there is a note of amazement in his voice: "Did I really do all that crazy stuff?"

Sure did, while the ramble lasted Then the national enthusiasm for folk music faded to its customary polite murmur. Rush was still fairly successful, but that was fairly disastrous in the platinumor-bust pop-music world. Punk was big: should he dye his hair purple and wear Spandex? Or mess around with country rock? A couple of years before, he had bought a shaggy, overgrown 600-acre farm in the southern part of New Hampshire, his home state. He had a good view of Mount Monadnock and enough money to hide out for a year. As the fat years ran out in the early '70s, he retreated to the woods. He spent his time clearing saplings on old logging trails; good folk-song material here. He bought some beehives. He tapped his maple trees in the spring and discovered with a born-again countryman's pleasure that his illustrious ancestor, Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, had written a long letter to Thomas Jefferson, promoting maple sugar as a boon to health and commerce.

Low ambition, low energy, he says, now of this period. Low results too, he kept his guitars tuned, but the none-toohealthy pop-missi industry, then as now, he had been been been too to temperate the to teenagers. Listeners, when he had listeners, cheered his Drop Down Manua and Rainy Doy-Man and laughed at his New Hampshire jokes But in one of the gusty blues yowis that he had beginn house plained about feeling "like some old enplained about feeling "like some old en-



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American Scene

gine, lost my driving wheel . . . " And that described his stalled career at the end of the "70s.

His moves since then seem logical enough now, but at the time they took some nerve. He began to talk things over with David Sykes, an old frend who teaches a course in entrepreneurship at Boston University Sykes believed that older and living in better neighborhoods. This audience was still receptive to the music it liked, but not in sports arenas with 20,000 screaming kids.

This made sense to Rush, and so did Sykes' idea of how to be an entrepreneur: Leave skid marks at the edge of the cliff." Rush was about to leave some. The year before, 1980, he had failed to fill a 500-seat rock club in Boston for a Christmas show, at \$7 a ticket. Now he booked the city's classiest concert house, the 2.600-seat Symphony Hall, for a year-end performance at \$15. It was a \$20,000 gamble, and it paid off in a sellout. A year later, when he repeated the concert. Bostonians talked of his "traditional" Symphony Hall year-ender. Next season public television filmed the show. By this winter the year-ender had grown to a three-performance weekend exhaust-athon with Symphony Hall set up cabaretstyle and tickets pegged up to \$24.50. Rush followed what he calls a Club 47 format, an idea he worked out with Sykes. What it boils down to is not just a lot of guest talent but as much interaction as possible among the performers.

"Chaos describes it nicely," says Rush, but when it works, it means that Guttar Wizard David Bromberg, for example, doesn't just appear, do a three-song Bromberg bubble unrelated to anything else and then vanish. Instead he may back up Rush later on slide guitar and improvise a number with the gifted white Bluesman John Hammond. This



In early spring, there are maples to tap

TIME MAY II. 1987

season's featured guest was the formidable black Rhythm-and-Blues Pioneer Bo Diddley, whose major weapon is a fivespeed turbo electric guitar built in a startling rectangular shape.

This winter, unless he had played the night before. Rush heaved out of bed at

night before, Rush heaved out of bed at 5:30 a.m. He would be on cross-country skis at first light, breaking trail on his logging roads By 7:30 he had showered, and driven his sons Benjamin, 11, and Richard, 4, to school. He ate breakfast with his wife Beverly, and by 8 a.m. was busy at his desk in an office partitioned off in what mush have been the hayloft of his barn. Then.

Wait a minute. This guy is a folk singer? A modern Leadbelly? He sounds like one of those hero CEOs in FORTUNE or Forbes who eats nails, sleeps three hours a night and never, never loses his driving wheel. Worse to come: by 9 a.m., the six employees of Maple Hill Productions have started to arrive, make coffee and restructure the music biz. The strategy that Rush worked out with Sykes was to use the Tom Rush name for leverage, once it was re-established. Then he would create a central organization that could bring folk musicians and audiences together. Now, Maple Hill Inc. of Hillsboro, N.H. is percolating as a record company called Night Light Recordings, a booking agent for new and used talent, a publisher, a producer of special events (with clambakes, boat rides and fireworks thrown in. if that's what you want) and a mail-order house that sends out records and tapes and T shirts.

Defining folk music as anything folks will listen to is too broad for Rush and Maple Hill, and confining it to Elizabethan ballads played on dulcimers is way too narrow. Most of the artists associated with Rush and Maple Hill play acoustic instruments, though Rush's keyboardist, Irwin Fisch, for instance, played a Baldwin grand rigged out with a synthesizer at Symphony Hall. Bill Morrissey is a quirky, funny New Hampshireman who sometimes performs with Rush, singing made-by-hand songs about how he should be working the second shift at the shoe factory, except that here he is in this bar and probably won't make it tonight. David Buskin and Robin Batteau are classically trained musicians, sophisticated enough to put across an intricate, punmad parody of Thomas Mann's Death in Venice ("He was a great musician, who finally learned decomposition . . ") Christine Lavin sings witty, wistful songs about shouldering your way through the big world when you are only five feet tall and not very fierce

Meanwhile, there's a spread sheet to be read and plans to be made for a folk-music conference to be held at the farm in June. No, forget June. There are buckets to be taken down on Rush's roadside sugar maples; and it's time to put in blueberry bushes. Somebody's on the phone. Is he really doing all this crays stuff? You bet. Has he found his driving wheel? Stay.

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Nation

TIME/MAY 11, 1987

Hints of Conspiracy

The Iran-contra hearings will renew pressure on the White House



The process begins again this week as kileig lights alliuminate the solemn fases of 15 Congressmen and eleven faster of 15 Congressmen and eleven faster stated on a two-tiered dais draped in burgandy bunting, at the opening of a four-month public exploration of the frame-norma faliar. This is the same Sentac Gausse Rosun where the solement of the same series revealed Senting May 15 Congress of the Se

Are the stakes as high this time? Probably not, but the unpredictable lurks. Said a White House aide last week. "You can never tell in what direction a hearing like this may go." Panel Member Peter Rodino, the New Jern 1974 dignified the whose steady, because the proceedings against Nixon, hears echese. "We have a situation again where we have much of the Escoutive Branch misunderstanding the rule of law." he says: "We just can't let that go unchallenged and unaddressed."

The alleged "misunderstanding" of

The alleged "misunderstanding of the "rule of law" that Congress plans to probe goes far beyond the unhinged armsfor-hostages deals with Iran and the



Committee chairmen: Senators Rudman and Inouye; Congressmen Hamilton and Cheney

to buy TV ads to persuade Congress to support the corrura. But Fitzwater's response was carefully hedged. Said he: "In the legal view of the White House, the President is not a part of this conspiracy." Another aide fretted about what might be next in the chain of criminal charges: "These pleas tend to set up a domino effect, with one target leading to others. We have no real tides where it's going."

have no real idea where it is going. Even if Channell or others reveal that Reagan knew some of the private damaplies, it would not necessarily mean Reagan was a conspirator in breaking the taxexemption laws. But at the very least it would show his earlier dennist to be false. And if the company's to use private donations for arming the contrast turns out to have volated other lews, such as the Neutrality Act and the Behard A monthered. It is a support to the private shows the could be been far more serious.

Before its hearings begin this Tuesday, the joint congressional committee staff will have interviewed 300 witnesses, reviewed more than 100,000 documents and issued 140 subpoenas. The investigation is prying loose what promises to be a spate of intriguing revelations about the Iran-contra affair.

By focusing on the covert policies the By focusing on the covert policies the By focusing on the property of the By focusing as well as Jam, the members plan to depict what many feel amounted to a dangerous privatization of foreign policy. The lesson of the hearings, predicts New Hampshire Republican Warren Rudman, will be that the Administration "cannot have a stated foreign policy aggressively pursued and a private foreign policy hat is 180 opposite

to it. The role North and the CIA played in setting up this rougen entewn's already well documented. A central question will be the degree approach to the control of the c

edgeable: he was involved very deeply; missis Hawaii Democrat Daniel Inouye, chairman of the Senate panel. Oklahomais David Boren posed the committee's key question in phrases that carry a Watergate-era ning: "Dad the President faithfully carry out the spirit of the law, or was the ignoring it? Did he subvert the process himself by trying to raise funds to get money to the contrast?"

he panel selected as its first witness one who is likely to engage the public's attention. After taking the Fifth Amendment in earlier hearings and even risking a contempt citation for refusing to turn over financial records, retired Air Force Major General Richard Secord agreed to testify-without immunity from prosecution. Why? "He's convinced he did nothing wrong and wants to tell his story," explained Maine Senator George Mitchell. Considering his involvement in both the gunrunning to the contras and the logistics of sending arms to Iran, Secord could credibly hold such a view only if he believed he had been given clear authority for what he did. Declared Inouye: "Few people can tell this story from beginning to end, and General Secord is one of those people.

In addition to describing the network of private operatives North used in both the Iran arms deals and the contra-supply operations, Secord is expected to help untangle one of the scandal's chief remaining mysteries: Where did the money go? An arms dealer ever since he left the Pentagon in 1983, Secord joined a company run by Albert Hakim, an Iranian American who recently gave committee investigators thick notebooks containing details of the firm's various bank accounts. Proceeds from the Iranian arms sales as well as covert money for contra military supplies are believed to have moved through these accounts

The committee's plan is to conduct its hearings in three stages: 1) the contra funding and military-resupply operation, which may take about four weeks. 2) the Iran arms deals and who may have been responsible for the diversion of profits to the contras, running into August; 3) at a wrap-up period exploring the lessons learned and what legislation, if any, might be needed to prevent a similar breakdown

in the orderly and accountable conduct of foreign policy. The committee should be finished by

Labor Day.

The joint committee has compiled an interesting list of 26 witnesses for the Insi phase, which some staffers refer to as an exploration of 'Contra, Inc.' Second will be followed by Robburgh and the phase of 'Contra, Inc.' Second will be followed by Robburgh and the phase of the

Tower board's report in February. Instead, a central issue this time will be the role Administration officials played in pursuing a secret and possibly illegal foreign policy by using a shady cadre of private and semiprivate operatives to supply military aid to the contras when such aid

How explosive this investigation could be was revealed last week, when Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh secured the scandal's first guilty plea, one that led uncomfortably close to the Oval Office. Conservative Fund Rais-

was restricted by Congress

Office Collegistative Profit Malsier Carl ("Spirz") Channell admitted he had conspired to defraud the Government by using a utsexempt. "chartisher found to the common the named former National Security Council Aide Leau. Colonel Oliver North and not only helped persaude donors to give no Channell but had also successfully urged Ronald Reagan to thank many who did so. White House Stocksmin.

White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater reiterated Reagan's earlier claim that he thought the money was used only



TIME, MAY 11, 1987



The committee counsel: John Nields Jr. for the House and Arthur Liman for the Senate

Filling out the picture will be some lesser-known field agens who helped create the private network that kept the courze fighting despite the official cutoff. Among them: Robert Owen, who as North's roving envoy in Central America allegedly arranged weapons shipments. and Contra Leader Adolfo Calero. who will be asked about what help the rebels actually received.

Next will come the fund raisers who made the private military aid possible. They will include retired Army General John Singlaub, who solicited money openly for the contras on a worldwide basis: Barbara Studley, a rather mysterious friend of Singlaub's; Ellen Garwood, the Texas multimillionaire who donated lavishly to Channell's groups; and Jane

ishly to Channell's groups; and Jane McLaughlin, a former Channell aide who has spoken freely about his White House ties. Hakim, expected to return from living abroad, will flesh out the details of secret money transfers through Switzerland

and the Cayman Islands.

The role of the NSC staff in setting up

this contra-supply network will be explored through the testimony of such Secord associates as Robert Dutton and Richard Gadd, both of whom are believed to have worked closely with North. Then Felix Rodriguez, identified as a CIA agent who uses the moniker Max Gomez, will be asked to explain his job as liaison between El Salvador's air force and private pilots, some of whom wound up air-dropping supplies to the contras from Salvador's Ilopango Air Base. Recommended for his role by Donald Gregg, a top aide to Vice President George Bush, Rodriguez will be questioned about meetings he has had with Bush

The official ties may be tightened as Lewis Tambs, former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, is asked about working with North to get Costa Rica to keep a secret contra airstrip operating. The Cth Station chief in Costa Rica, recently identified as Joseph Fernandez, will be quizzed about the contras and which of his Cth Superiors was aware of his activities.

Some of the toughest grilling may be inflicted on Elliott Abrams. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, who had insisted publicly that nobody in this building had any idea of any contributions coming from a foreign government" just days before it was disclosed he had solicited \$10 million for the contras from the Sultan of Brunei. Worse yet, the money deposited into a Swiss account provided by North has disappeared. Says an Administration official: "Aside from the question of whether he did anything indictable, he will at the very least be sacrificed. Elliott knew most of the essential details of what Ollie and his boys were up to."

her starting Phase I with a poterial bomb thrower. Secord, the committee expects to end it with the scandal's bombshell: North's secretary, Fawn Hall. Charges of a possible obstruction of justice could hinge in part on how she describes the documents



Was he unknowing or in charge?

One witness may have an answer.

she shredded, altered or spirited off to North after Attorney General Edwin Meese carelessly interviewed him about the Iran-contra diversion but failed to call in the FBI or lock up North's files.

Messe, who will not be called until Phase 2. can expect rough handling over his sloppy initial investigation as well as his dubious legal advice to the President that it was proper to withhold notification of the Iran deals from Congress. But as to whether there was a cover-up. Maine Republican Senator William Cohen notes. "You cannot prove that Messes's inepti-

tude was calculated. By agreement with Independent Counsel Walsh, who has voiced deep concern about protecting possible indictments, the two key figures in the entire affair will not be heard until at least mid-June. Former National Security Adviser John Poindexter, who was kept informed by North about almost everything he did, poses the most direct peril to the President. Cool and at least outwardly serene at the center of the scandal, the pipe-puffing admiral has told friends he intends to lay his story out candidly and will not be shaken by others. He has privately said he feels that he kept the President informed of the Iran and contra-funding operations, including telling him in general terms on at least two occasions that the Iranian operations were benefiting the contrus. Some committee members were irked last week when Reagan

"No. John Poindexter's an honorable man... I was not informed."

As for North, no one can be sure of what the erratic officer will say. But the big question for North will be one that has the ring of Watergate: What did the President know!

seemed to be sending Poindexter a signal.

Asked whether he was worried about the

admiral's testimony. Reagan replied.

dent know?

This schedule of witnesses is diunting and certain to include hours of tedious userimony about secret hours of tedious testimony about secret hours of tedious testimony about secret hours of the major witnesses are on camera. "Our responsibility is not to entertain, but to inform," says Cohen, whose eloquence in the House Judiciary Committee impeachment debate helped propel him into the Senate.

But even if the hearings produce few explosions or smoking guns that can topple high officials, they could have a powerful historic impact. With the emotional force that often emerges from the accumulation of dry details, the nation will be shown how some in the Administration used a shady network to undermine America's policy of not trading for hostages and to circumvent laws prohibiting the Government from supplying military aid to the contras. The critical lesson, Cohen predicts, will be the discovery that "you can't formulate policy in some dark corner without heading toward anarchy." - By Ed Magnuson, Reported by Michael Duffy and Hays Gorey/Washington

Nation

Channell's High Connections

A fund raiser's guilty plea creates the first Iranscam conviction



The speaker was Ronald Reagan. The event a talk in the Roosevelt Room of the White House to American donors to the contra cause last June—four months before the end of Congress's han

on US military aid to the Nicaraguan rebels Until last week the President's forthright praise for private denors to the centrus provoked sertions that he assumed their contributions were for nonmilitary purposes went largely unquestioned flut that is certain to change in the flut that the control of the control

In a surprising move, Independent Counsel Lawrence Waish worked out an arrangement with Channell to plead guilty to one count of comspiracy to violate the laws governing tax-ecomp foundations, and tion. An aggressive, persussive operator. Channell, 41, was one of the most successful fund raisers in Washington. His nine foundations and political-action committees collected marty 58 million last year for

According to Walsh, Channell's Naconding to Walsh, Channell's National Endownent for the Preservation of Liberty took in more than \$2 million from just three donnes between April 1985 and May of last year. Contributions to N.E.P.I., were tax deductible, based on the group's claim that the money was for "education al and charitable" purposes. But Channell last week admitted that some of the funds were used to supply weapons to the

Contrus.
Channell named two co-conspirators.
Channell named two co-conspirators.
One was Richard Miller, president of International Business Communications, a public relations firm that Channell claims.
Immeded \$1.72 million of funds from funds from the control of the control

The White House acknowledges that the President held several meetings with some of Channell's major donors. At his press conference in March, Reagan claimed that he had believed he was congratulating citizens who had contributed funds for pro-contra commercials. 'I met with them to thank them, because they had raised money to put spot ads on television in favor of the contrast in an effort to try and influence Congress to continue giving aid.' claimed the President.

But skeptics point to a message sent by North to then National Security Adviser John Poindexter last May "The President obviously knows why he has been meeting with several select people to thank them for their Support for democ-



Channell and Miller, top; Prosecutor Walsh Donations bought contra arms.

racy' in CentAm." To some, the remark indicates that Reagan was aware that Channell was doing more than drumming up money for TV ads.

North was critical to Channell's comrue fund raising, meeting with potential contributors at the Old Executive Office. Building and briefing them on the dangers of the Sandinstan regime Elliott inter-American Affairs. also bectured groups of N.E.P.1 donors. Abrams told TML last January that there was nothing wrong with his helping Channell's fundrating efforts, since the money was being

used for humanitarian aid.

Channell's donors were often elderly conservatives like Fllen Garwood, a Texas widow who reportedly gave \$1.97 mil-

lion to N.E.P.I. Channell evidently idol them their gifts would provide humanitarian aid to the contras. But some of the finds were directed to what was called Project Toys, which was called Project Toys, which could be contrasted to the contrast to the

Channell also paid a retainer of \$20,000 a month to David C Fischer, a former Reagan aide, to help standard to the standard to

worth \$20,000 a year?
Even if Channell testifies that the President or others in the White House knew that some of the contributions were being used for arms, it would probably difficult to implicate them on tax-fraud changes. But a Walsh staffer asyn that confined to implicate them on tax-fraud changes. But a Walsh staffer asyn that contribution of the property o

Whether or not the Channell case leads to criminal indictiments of top officials. the line of investigation could cause considerable disconfiort in the cause considerable disconfiort in the private network of pro-contra donors is only one of many different paths that Walsh is pursuing in the labyrinth of dubious deeds involving Frantian arms denis and secret aid to the Neutragian denis and secret aid to the Neutragian.

Stanley/Washington

Over the next three or so months, the congressional committee investigating the Iran-contra affair will hear from 35 to 50 witnesses as it struggles to unravel the worst foreign policy scandal of the decade.

Major congressional hearings are never predictable; during Watergate a minor witness revealed the White House taping system. As the hearings open, these are the key witnesses:



Richard Secord

This retired Air Force ma-

ior general, with close ties to the shadowy world of international arms sales, will break his long public silence when he appears, without immunity. leading off the Iran-contra hearings. Secord was the man Lieut. Colonel Oliver North turned to when the National Security Council aide needed help in secretly supplying weapons to the contras. The committee has granted limited immunity to some of Secord's associates, but the general's decision to testify voluntarily is based on his conviction that he did nothing illegal. Not only is Secord likely to reveal the history of private military support for the contras, but he will probably also recount his role as a middleman for North in the Iranian arms deals.



his suicide attempt in February, the former National Secu-

insists he does not recall the briefing.

rity Adviser will initially outline efforts to skirt the congressional ban on military aid to the contras. Later in the hearings, he will return to discuss the Iranian arms deal. McFarlane may reveal new details about the Israeli role, and will probably amplify his earlier testimony that he told Reagan about the arms sales in August 1985. The President

Elliott Abrams

Few officials have had their credibility more damaged by the contra-aid scandal than the acerbic Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. When Eugene Hasenfus, a mercenary supplying the contras, was taken prisoner after his plane crashed in Nicaragua. Abrams denied knowledge of the flight or the private network that funded it. That appears untrue. Instead. Abrams seems to have been North's diplomatic partner in fueling the contra pipeline. The committee should

has disappeared

grill Abrams about his efforts to assist Carl Channell in fund-raising efforts for the contras: Abrams has claimed that he thought the money was for humanitarian purposes. The \$10 million for the contras that Abrams solicited from the Sultan of Brunei will also prompt serious questioning. Abrams asked North for the number of a Swiss bank account in which the Sultan could deposit the money. But the meticulous Abrams apparently got the account number wrong. and the money

Fawn Hall

Oliver North's loyal secretary at the NSC, this former part-time model may prove to be the most telegenic witness on the committee's schedule. She became an instant celebrity last February when she told the independent counsel that she had helped North shred, alter as the secret Iran-contra operation was about to be made publie. This story, the presumable crux of Hall's testimony, can only point up the laxity of Edwin Meese's initial investigation. Hall, who will be testifying under a grant of immunity, is

certain to recount how she retyped four key memos at North's request, possibly to obscure the role of his superiors. She will probably claim ignorance about the substance of the Iran-contra documents. Hall who lives with her parents, was for a time romantical-Iv involved with Arturo Cruz Ir, the son of a former contra

George Shultz

The Secretary of State opposed selling arms to Iran. but the Tower commission faulted him for not aggressively pressing his dissent with the President. Shultz is likely to be asked primarily to relate the lessons of the scandal to the management of Reagan's foreign policy Shultz does have firsthand knowledge about one aspect of the scandal: he authorized Abrams to ask the Sultan of Brunei to contribute \$10 million to the contras.





The latticework of secret bank accounts to finance the work of this Iranian-born arms merchant and Secord partner. Hakim, who has been granted immunity, has given committee investigators several thick notebooks filled with data on overseas bank accounts. He may well testify that the Nicaraguan rebels did get several million dollars from the Iranian arms sales, while millions more remain

Albert Hakim

contras was largely the handiunspent

Edwin Meese

The Attorney General conducted the informal investigation last November that led to the discovery that funds from the Iranian arms sales were being diverted to the contras. Since then Meese has come under fire for the haphazard manner in which he undertook his inquiry. He did not read Miranda warnings to potential suspects and let crucial time elapse after interviewing North and John Poindexter before taking steps to secure their files. Another mystery is why the Attorney General failed to mention the contra fund diversion when he visited CIA Director

William Casey on the day that Meese said he discovered the covert funding operation. Some committee members speculate that Meese's actions may have been part of a deliberate cover-up, but such allegations will be difficult to prove.

Oliver North

The President called him a "national hero," but this entrepreneurial Marine lieutenant colonel and former NSC staff member has come to symbolize the entire Iran-contra scandal. North's appearance under an anticipated grant of limited immunity is certain to be a dramatic high point of the hearings. The mystery surrounding North comes down to a central question: Who, if anyone, gave him the authority to conduct a covert foreign policy from the White House basement? It is conceivable that North could reveal that he was following orders from CIA Director Casey, or even the President himself



John Poindexter

acted properly

McFarlane's successor as National Security Adviser could be the most explosive witness to appear before the committee. Poindexter, a process-minded rear admiral now on leave from desk duty at the Pentagon, has the potential to link Reagan directly to the scandal. North reported to Poindexter when they were both at the NSC, and the National Security Adviser had ample opportunity to brief the President about all aspects of contra funding, including the use of money from the Iranian arms deal. Poindexter took the Fifth Amendment during earlier congressional hearings; White House aides are nervous and uncertain about

what he may say when he testifies under limited immunity Poindexter has told friends that he feels he kept Reagan adequately informed of what was going on, and will not tailor his testimony to protect the President. He is likely to be an unflappable witness. Although the Tower commission sternly rebuked Poindexter for failing to appreciate the gravity of the Irancontra funding connection, he remains convinced that he

Nation



All action, no talk: Second leaves a Capitol Hill hearing last year after refusing to testify

"A Man of Many Talents"

Secord may illuminate several mysteries

When Oliver North wanted to get something done quickly, secretly and with a minimum of fuss, he called his friend Richard Secord. In November 1985 Secord came to the rescue of frazzled White House officials by deftly diverting a plane that was scheduled for a weapons shipment to the contras to help transport arms to Iran. As North later wrote admiringly to Admiral John Poindexter. "Why Dick can do something in five minutes that the CIA cannot do in two days is beyond me-but he does." Another time North wrote, "a man of many talents of Secord is

Wherever the complicated trail of the Iran-contra affair leads, it seems at some point to intersect with retired Air Force Major General Richard V. Secord. The blunt, no-nonsense West Point graduate has remained aloof and silent since the scandal broke last November. But beginning Tuesday, when he appears as the joint congressional committee's opening witness, the mysterious Secord may become a household name and perhaps the first man to piece together the complex puzzle of Iranscam.

Secord had a bird's-eye view of the entire affair. As president of a company selling arms around the world, the retired two-star general provided aircraft and crews to ship weapons to Iran, accompanied former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane on his secret mission to Tehran, purchased short-takeoff-andcharge of coordinating munitions drops for the rebels.

All of this was nothing new for Secord. In his three decades of military service, he was involved in clandestine operations wherever things were hottest around the world. After seeing action as a fighter pilot in Viet Nam, he was attached to a CIA force in Thailand to supervise flights for the agency's secret Laotian war. In 1975 he was stationed as a military attaché in Iran and helped guide the Shah in spending billions of dollars on a 500-plane air force. In Tehran, he met his future partner Albert Hakim, who was then engineering the sale of sophisticated electronic equipment to the Shah's secret police.

Secord returned to Washington in 1978 to head the Air Force's militaryassistance and sales program. There he formed a relationship with Edwin Wilson, the CIA operative turned arms merchant now serving 52 years in federal prison for illegally selling arms to Libva. Secord's career stalled in 1982, when he came under investigation by a federal grand jury for allegedly conspiring with Wilson and others to defraud the U.S. Government of \$8 million on an Egyptian arms-shipping contract. He was suspended from duty for a short time, although he was never indicted: he was reinstated with the approval of then Deputy Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, now the National Security Adviser. He left the Air Force the following year to become president of Hakim's Stanford Technology Corp. Friends say Secord has been itching to

tell his story, but did not decide to do so until he was allowed by the congressional committee to inspect secret bank records. controlled by Hakim. which convinced him that he had no legal culpability. House Chairman Lee Hamilton is certain that Secord's testimony will go right to the heart of Iranscam. "Secord is a comprehensive witness," says Hamilton, "There aren't many of them in this drama. Most of the witnesses who will follow him will fill in the gaps." - By Richard Stengel. Reported by Jonathan Beaty/Los Angeles and Michael Duffy/Washington

The Contra Con

A "Saudi" smoothie stung North



money to aid the Nicaraguan contras. North was so taken with the prince that he went to Ronald Reagan and National Security Council Adviser Robert McFarlane and told them of the expected donation. As matters turned out, there was no money and no prince: the would-be contra benefactor was Mousaireza Ibrahim Zadeh. an expatriate Iranian swindler who has pleaded guilty to bank fraud and faces Before that setback, however, Zadeh

was quite a convincing con man: he stung one of North's associates for \$250,000. and the colonel himself interceded with the FBI on his behalf in July 1985. The bizarre incident, which outgoing HBI Director William Webster disclosed to the Senate Intelligence Committee last week. offers yet another example of North's overreaching, amateurish operations. More significantly, it indicates that North told Reagan at least once of his efforts to raise money for the contras, despite the official ban on U.S. Government aid to the Nicaraguan rebels.

From the outset. North was not exactly cautious in his dealings with the purported Saudi prince. When he was first approached through an intermediary in 1984, he made only a cursory check of

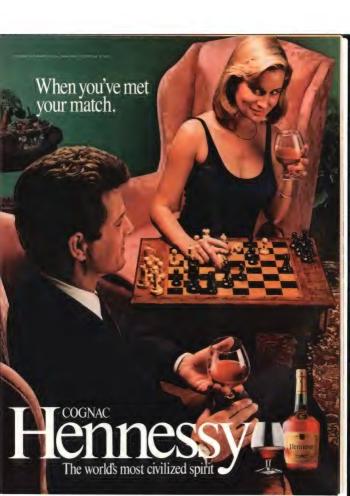
public sources about the Saudi royal family. Even though he could find no Prince Ibrahim, North did not pursue the matter. Rather than deal with the prince directly, however, he steered him to Richard Miller, a public relations agent and associate of Raiser ("Spitz") Channell, Last week Channell pleaded

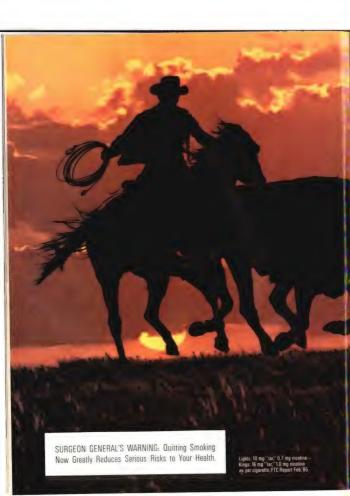
guilty to conspiring with North and Miller to raise money for the contras through a fraudulent tax-exempt

The phony prince enticed Miller with visions of Saudi oil millions that could be diverted to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters. Of course, Miller had to provide a few assurances of his good faith: the Philadelphia Inquirer has reported that over a period of several months. Miller fronted about \$250,000 of his own and a relative's money for the prince's exorbitant expenses. In return, the wide-eyed p.r. man was promised he would be made the "exclusive agent for Saudi oil in the U.S."

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odds and ends, simply fold up the rear seat. You'll have 71 cubic feet to carry surfboards two-by fours, antique desks and all those other things families just can't seem to live without. Of course, the Trooper II also offers your family

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SIZ

Nation

to him. One deal involving shipments of 500,000 bbl. a day, Miller was assured. could realize up to \$14 million, which would go to the contras through CIA oper-

So credible was the prince that Miller even vouched for him after Zadeh had bounced a \$250,000 check at the William Penn Bank in Philadelphia. In documents released last week. Miller was said to have repeated the yarn that the prince was being victimized as a result of "religious differences" within the Saudi royal family. and even offered to cover the amount of the bad check. Bank officials, however, called in the FBI

Investigators went to North about the matter in July 1985. The NSC aide asked them to leave the situation alone for several days, the FBI later reported, "due to the critical timing of the prince's possible but remote large donation." The prince, North said, was in Europe "arranging transfer of funds to Nicaraguan freedom fighters." North told the agents that he had discussed the matter with Reagan and McFarlane a month earlier

North's account to the FBI could have blown the lid off the NSC's contra-aid effort long before November 1986, when Attorney General Edwin Meese first disclosed it. But the FBI report never made it from the bureau's Washington field office to the FBI's nearby headquarters. The reason, said Webster last week, was "an unusual technological failure" while a new communications system was being tested.

The FBI was guilty of another disturbing lapse last spring, after Zadeh's true identity had been exposed and he was under investigation for bank fraud. When Miller was subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury in Philadelphia in April 1986, North interfered in the case once again, asking the bureau to postpone Miller's appearance "to avoid possible adverse impact on negotiations connected with the hostages in Lebanon." Miller, as it turned out, never went before the grand jury. Zadeh was convicted of bank fraud, but the damage he did to he Reagan Administration is just now being felt By John S. DeMott.

Reported by Elaine Shannon/Washington

Move Over, Sam Ervin

Young and restless politicians with one life to live, desper-ately searching for the guiding light to another world of national celebrity. A new soap opera? Not quite, but close. It is the televised Iran-contra hearings that will pre-empt the snans this week

Each of the 26 congressional inquisitors is well aware of the awesome power of television to make or break reputations. Back in the kinescope era. Freshman Senator Estes Kefauver starred in a dramatic series of organized-crime hearings; the next year he almost won the 1952 Democratic presidential nomination. The Senate Watergate hearings, of

course, transformed Sam Ervin into a national icon and forever linked Howard Baker with the line "What did the President know, and when did he know it?" But the TV cameras can also be cruel; Watergate did little to enhance the political careers of the weaker performers.

What is a nervous Senator or Conssman to do? He has picked his best blue suit his most sincere red tie and perhaps has even gone under the sun lamp in quest of a TV tan. His frenzied staff has churned out briefing books and questions. But even with all these preparations, an ineffective inquisitor could send millions of viewers straight to the refrigerator. To prevent Americans from pigging out on betweenmeal snacks, herewith some TV tips to help committee members mind their P's and Q-ratings

Listen before you leap. Senator Joseph Montova provided comic relief during Watergate by dutifully reciting the questions his staff had prepared. even if other Senators had already asked them. Always remember to ear on the side of cauti

The eyes have it. Reading questions aloud is boring, even on C-SPAN. None of the courtroom wizards on L.A. Law use crib sheets. Explains Dorothy Sarnoff, a corporate-image adviser: "When you read, we don't see the eyes, so we don't know what you're feeling

The camera has the votes. Don't stare at the witness: en if he is a constituent, he's not likely to be a happy one. Play to the TV audience instead. Democratic Media Consultant Frank Greer suggests that you periodically turn to glare at the cameras and say, "But Colonel North, the American people want answers

Passion plays in the afternoon. Take your cue from the soaps. The rule here is no guts, no glory. "Our characters, says Al Rabin, supervising executive producer of Days of Our Lives. "have to have the ability to wear their feelings on

their sleeve. Don't be shy, show what's in your gut Try some Bartlett's and James. If only PBS and C-SPAN deem your performance worthy of coverage, it is

cooler not to whine about it. Instead, haul out the quote books and show off your erudition for this upscale audience. Here, for example, is a useful phrase from The Spoils of Poynton: "The fatal futility

of Fact Do not money the waters. Grant-

ed, the first stage of the hearings will focus on the secret funding network for the contras. But face it, the only excited by the details of Swiss bank accounts are the Gnomes of Zurich. So let the committee counsels do this work for you. Otherwise, warns Republican Media Consultant Roger Ailes, "you could end up looking like a chief financial officer discussing the cash-flow management for the coming marketing

Know thy image. With memories of Sam Ervin's country-lawyer routines still fresh, the entire committee could wind up sounding like Hee Haw. Do not try to be folksy if Grandpappy was a Main Line Philadelphia lawyer. A congressional committee should be as varied as a World War II platoon. There are still fine roles available for a moralistic New Englander, a tough ethnic and a Jimmy Stewarttype Midwesterner. Above all, remember there is no such thing as a small part if it helps you get re-elected. And that, along with the pursuit of truth and justice, is part of these hearings. -By Walter Shapiro





Folksy works, but don't sound like Hee Haw

Nation

Spy Woes

Retractions hurt the Navy's case

A firet weeks of sensational revelations about US. guards sensiting Soviet spies into the American embassy in Moscow, the Marine spy case appears to be stalled. As a postponement was announced list week in a pretrail hearing for Corporal Arnold Bracy, with had consessed to helping Bergeant Clayton Lonereson of the Corporal Arnold Bracy, which had continued to the Corporal Arnold Bracy, with had continued to the Corporal Arnold Bracy, which had continued to the continued to the Corporal Arnold Bracy, which had continued to the continued to the

Bracy has retracted the confession he made in March, maintaining that agents of the Naval Investigative Service coerced the statement from him during three days of grueling interrogation. Another retraction came from Corporal Robert Williams, who claimed to have heard a drunken Lonetree admit his espionage activities. Moreover, preliminary security sweeps in the Moscow embassy have turned up no bugs or other evidence indicating that Soviet agents ever got inside the secure area on the ninth floor. "The case against Lonetree has fallen apart. said his attorney, Michael Stuhff. "The whole house of cards is built on sand."

The Defense Department insists that the cases will hold up. "All the interviews have been conducted in full compliance with the subjects rights." said Pentagon Spokesman Robert Sims last week." If know off no reason to believe that any subject was coerced or badgered in any way." Military officials seem unfazed by the retractions. A judge will listen to tapes of the statements and rule on their validity. The account by Williams, says one source, if "extremely detailed. If a more than

The Navy, however has delayed bringing charges against two more Marines: Sergeant John Weirick, held on suspicion of espionage; and a former Moscow embassy guard who was returned to Quantico. Va. from his station in Brasilia. The fourth Marine and "several others" are still cooperating with problems. Neveral entire of the properties o

Although the Navy may lack hard evidence against the Marines, one active participant says. "The U.S. is sure enough of the facts to bet close to \$100 million on it." That is how much the Pentagon, State Department, CIA and National Security Agency will request from Congress to replace the compromised communications facilities and pursue other corrective measures. Meanwhile, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence recommended by a 15-to-0 vote to tear down the bug-riddled chancery at the new U.S. embassy in Moscow. Said Committee Chairman David Boren: "Demolish that building while we still can." Building a new one would cost an estimated \$23 million more.

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Giving Normalcy a Good Name

There were four of them last week from Capitol Hill gathered with Ronald Reagan in the morning brightness of the Oval Office. They were, in the distinctive patois of one participant, "trying to figure out how to keep the Democrats from wrapping a tire iron around our necks" during the budget struggle.

The old grandfather clock by the doorset an easy rhythm, and Reagan's husyou'ce carried the time, but Wyoming's Senator Alan Simpson noticed something else. Again and again, as the visitors identified obstreperous members of Congress and likely collision points, there came as oft and knowing chacklet from Chief of Staff Howard Batter. Let me ut alto him. Chief of Staff Howard Batter. Let me ut alto him.

Simpson, the Senate's Republican whip, does not hesitate these days to identify the distinguishing feature of Baker's two-month stewardship in the boiler room of the White House: "innate civility and kindness." That a noddity after decades of worshiping brilliance, cunning and toughness. We have had the reflected for the state of the state o



The chief of staff: a master at the game of politics

Howard Baker is unique in nothing so much as his gentle normalcy. At 5 ft. 6 in. and weighing 'too much" (exact poundage is now a state secret). he has run through every diet conceived by man. from cottage cheese to rice, and been defeated by them all. But he struggles on good-naturedly in the White House mess. He wears button-down shirts that rumple spectacularly. and he is still followed by the old gag that somebody must wrinkle his suits before he dresses for work

The thought of getting up at 5 a.m., as some prede-

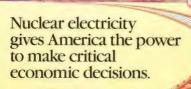
cessors tried to do, appalls him; instead, he climbs into his White House limo at about 7:40 and is at his desk by 8. Well, maybe just a few minutes after 8. And the idea of staying around until midnight is equally disgusting. He departs by 6:30 if the world is calm, and he does his best to keep it that way.

His encounters with the trappings of White House power have produced amused wonder, Spotting the multiplationed flashing plante on this deak, he asked amused wonder, Spotting the multiplationed flashing plante on this deak, he asked with his chuckle, "What is all this about?" There is no evidence he ever got an answer—or careful. Baker keeps his office door open and occasionally calls out to folks padding down the halls. His desk is reckoned to be more clean than not, though it sometimes is hard to decide:

When Baker mutters, "This dog won't hunt," the old hands around him know that is the end of an idea. His other favorite phrase, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it," is equally unspectacular but equally meaningful for the Baker crew. It means stop right there, we don't want any more needless work.

Visitors still sometimes treat Baker as if he held all the power in the White House, so almost every day he has to repeat, with a determined smile. "Ronald Reugan is President and I am not." When he travels with the President to other Hill or some equally fine-tuned political gathering, alker makes a point when he can of standing across the room from Reugan. Yet he has been seen, under the bow and extract him from a perilos encounter with reporters.

Baker has vowed to do something no other chief of staff in modern times has been able to pull off once immersed in the powerful White House potion. "I made a deal with myself," he told friends. "I'm going to be the same going out of here as I was coming in." If he manages that, he could give normaley a good name.



The 1973 Arab oil membrang gave America its first bitter taste of foreign oil dependence. To protect our economy, we turned to electricity. Using American resources and technology. As a result, nuclear energy has established itself as a cornerstone in rebuilding a strong economy.

The electrification of America

Electricity is the only major form of energy that has experienced overall growth since 1973. We are using 36% more now than we did then. It serves new uses in our factories and heats twice as many of our

homes. Nuclear energy's contribution to our electricity supply has more than quadrupled during that time, helping fuel a 34% growth in America's economy.

There are still no guarantees against becoming too dependent on foreign oil once again. Our economy continues to require increasing amounts of electricity for its growth. And that electricity must continue to come from nuclear energy, as well as coal and other domestic sources.

The growth

American nuclear electricity wasborn in 1956, Bi 1973, it had born in 1956, Bi 1973, it had born in 1956, Bi 1973, it had born in 2000, and in 200

Nuclear energy also saved Americans between 35 and 62 billion dollars from 1974 to 1985, compared to the cost of nonnuclear-generated electricity. It has displaced over two billion barrels of oil. And its contribution continues to climb. The U.S. Department of Energy estimates that nuclear energy will provide 20% of our electricity by the early 1990s.

Nuclear energy for a secure future.

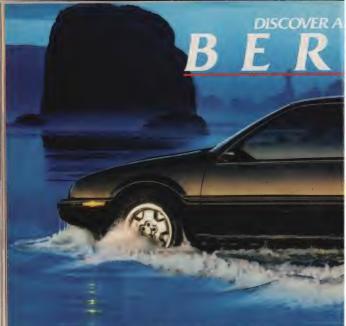
Nuclear energy has proven its worth to America's economy. Auburn University Dean of Engineering Dr. Lynn Weaver recently described nuclear energy as

"... one of the basic props supporting the entire national economy."

Yet, in spite of all we've accomplished, the threat of foreign oil dependence remains. Difficult choices will still need to be made, But one fact has made itself very clear: the more we develop our own energy sources like nuclear energy and coal, the more we control our own economic destiny.

For a free booklet on energy independence, write to the U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 1537 (ED01), Ridgely, MD 21681. Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.

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THE / Joan



OF AMERICA TODAY'S CHEVROLET

Nation



A social at a New York City club where lab results come before formal introductions

Paying for Peace of Mind

New dating services offer screening tests for AIDS

lively crowd of 200 people flocked to 1 A the party at Houston's glitzy Ocean Club, but an uninvited guest also turned up: fear. The affair, sponsored by a new organization called Safe Adults, kicked off the city's first social club for people who are worried about contracting AIDS. To join, prospective members must agree to submit to an AIDS test every six months. Oil Production Analyst Mary Harter, 28, plans to sign up. At Safe Adults, she said, 'you'll meet the kind of people who are at least aware of AIDS and willing to do something to protect themselves. Herpes you can treat, but AIDS will kill you, and no roll in the hay is worth that

Across the U.S., social clubs are springing up to soothe singles who are jittery about AIDS. Although those most at risk for the disease remain homosexual men and intravenous drug users, a growing number of heterosexual singles are demanding a clean bill of health in place of spoken assurances that a new acquaintance is not carrying the virus. By requiring all members to take blood-screening tests, dating services are taking some of the risk out of meeting people, if some of the spontaneity

Some of the AIDS-free organizations operate like clubs, sponsoring outings and encouraging dating among members.

Others simply certify that members have tested negative for AIDS. In Santa Clara, Calif., the American Institute for Safe Sex Practices, for example, issues a photo ID card with renewable stickers stating that the bearer has passed an ATINS Test

At Judy Yorio's Compatibles, a New England dating service that claims 5.000 members in five states, clients have been asked to take an AIDS blood test at least twice a year. They may decline, but would-be partners who inquire will be told that the member refused to be tested. The response from clients, says Yorio. "has been very strong and very approving.

Peace of Mind. Inc., a club based in West Bloomfield, Mich., offers an elaborate menu of safe-sex services. Founded in February by six local businessmen, the club has signed up about 100 people so far for memberships ranging from the \$99 basic package, which includes a bloodscreening test for AIDS every six months, to the deluxe membership (\$649), which includes tests every three months for AIDS. hernes and nine other sexually transmitted diseases. That is not all: Peace of Mind provides a telephone-counseling and referral service, a newsletter, a dental program and discounts at 43 local stores.

No matter how rigorous the testing requirements, no organization can be certain that its members are not infected with the AIDS virus. Reason: the body can take as long as four months to produce antibodies to the virus. Until that happens, an AIDS carrier will test negative and may gain a mistaken sense of security. Even a person who is AIDS free

when the test is administered may shortly afterward become infected. To avoid lawsuits, most social clubs advertising protection from AIDS make a point of stating in their applications that they cannot guarantee that members are not infected. - By Janice Castro. Reported by Lianne Hart/ Houston and Dick Thompson/ Washington



The subway gunman on trial

ore than two years after Bernhard Goetz pulled out a revolver and shot four black teenagers who had demanded \$5 from him in a Manhattan subway car. his case went before a New York City jury last week. The panel of two blacks and ten whites half of whom have been victims of crime, will try to settle a question millions have debated since the December 1984 episode: Was the subway vigilante justified in defending himself against what he saw as an imminent attack, or was he a trigger-happy racist poised to strike at the slightest provocation?

As his trial opened last week. Goetz. 39. an electronics technician, faced 13 criminal charges, including four for attempted murder. Defense Attorney Barry Slotnick insisted, however, that Goetz "was the real victim in this case." Slotnick announced that he planned to defend his client by "prosecuting" the four "vicious predators" who surrounded Goetz on the subway car. Despite an admonition from Judge Stephen Crane, Slotnick referred to Goetz's victims as "drug addicts" and attempted to bring up their criminal records. (Two of the four are in jail on other charges, one for the rape of an adolescent girl, and a third is completing drug rehabilitation. The fourth shooting victim, Darrell Cabey, was left paralyzed from the waist down.)

In the face of Slotnick's guerrilla tactics. Assistant District Attorney Gregory Waples pressed on with the quiet demeanor of a man who believes that the facts and Goetz's own words will lead inescapably to a conviction. At midweek Waples played a two-hour tape recording made by the detectives who questioned Goetz when he surrendered to them in Con-

cord. N.H. In it, Goetz said the four wanted to play with me. like a cat plays with a mouse"-before he assumed a shooter's stance and methodically emptied his pistol at his tormentors. "I know this sounds horrible," he said, "but my intention was to murder them ... to make them suffer as much as possible."

After his first four shots, the prosecution says. Goetz approached Cabey, who was slumped in the subway seat opposite him. "You don't look too bad." Goetz said. "Here's another." He fired his fifth shot. severing Cabey's spine. Even if Goetz's first rounds were fired in self-defense. Waples maintains, his final shot went well beyond the need to protect himself. In his taped confession. Goetz said. "If I was thinking a little bit more clearly. I would have put the bullet against his head and fired.





Nation

Re-examining America's Underclass

In a new book, William Wilson spurns "race-specific policies"

crime and teenage illegitimacy. Now a distinguished black sociologist has produced a provocative analysis of the black underclass and a radical proposal for easing its plight. In The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner-City, the Underclass and Public Policy (University of Chicago Press: \$27.50). William Julius Wilson challenges conservative social theorists who blame the excesses of the welfare state for the swelling of the underclass; civil rights leaders who attribute its existence to racism; and liberal social scientists who hypothesize an entrenched "culture of poverty" in the ghetto. Wilson may be guilty of understatement when he predicts that his new study, due out this fall.

"will be controversial."
If would not be the first time that Wilson, who is chairman of the sociology department at the University of Chicago, had set the fur flying. Almost a deaded ago his first study of the underclass. The Declinant Significance of Reac, outraged militant black scholars by claiming the policinate of the policinate

tion of Black Sociologists condemned the book for omitting "significant data regarding the continuing discrimination against blacks at all class levels" and warned that it might be used "as a basis for the further

suppression of Blacks."
In his new book, Wilson challenges liberal orthodoxies by candidity exploring the social pathologies—drug use, critica, the programatics, welfare dependency and other destructive behavior—drudent in the inner cities. Discussion of these catastrophic after the properties of the second o

Wilson, right-wing scholars like Charles Murray (Losing Ground) gained influence with the Reagan Administration by asserting that welfare programs had become so lucrative that they provided greater economic incentive for poor families to go on the dole than to get a job.

The primary reason for the worsening plight of the black underclass. Wilson argues, is not present-day discrimination or a lazy dependency on welfare or the entrenchment of destructive values into the

Wilson: challenging liberal and conservative orthodoxies

He predicts the book "will be controversial."

ghetto culture. Rather, he places most of the blame on two factors that have little to do with racism. The first involves a change in the structure of the national economy: the decline in the number of well-paid industrial jobs available to low-skilled workers and the increase in the number of service jobs that either require white-collar skill or provide little chance for advancement. This had a disastrous impact on young black males, whose unemployment rate is more than double that of their white counterparts, and it leads to other social problems. Because there are only 60 or so stably employed marriageable men for every 100 women in numerous ghettos, black females often elect not to marry if they become pregnant.

The other major factor Wilson cites is the widening class division between blacks who have escaped the ghetto and those who have not. In what may be the book's most contentious section. he argues that the easing of discrimination against middle-class blacks has contributed indirectly to the desperate plight of the underclass. Once, he says, segregation forced middle-class. working-class and poor blacks to live together in "vertically integrated" communities with thriving churches, small businesses and schools. But desegregation laws allowed blacks with stable jobs to flee the ghettos in great numbers, knocking the props from local institutions. Those left behind formed an increasingly homogeneous underclass whose members suffered from

the "concentration effects" of isolation from mainstream education, job and social networks.

This thesis is already under attack by some black social synthemists. Says Harriette Pipes Mc-Adoo, professor of social work at Howard University: "It blames ghetto people who got out rather than external forces. It sounds good, but there is no empirical data to support it. It's rather ridiculous:

W ilson is skeptical of "race-specific policies" designed to help blacks, like affirmative action, which he says does little to assist unskilled ghetto youths while benefiting middle-class blacks who are better prepared to take advantage of education and job opportunities. Because of the low number of available iobs in inner cities, the author is wary of widely heralded welfare reforms designed to wean recipients from the dole by requiring them to accept training and jobs. Says Wilson: "If you do create some jobs for those on welfare, you're just going to take them away from the working poor. You have a kind of underclass musical chairs here. You give jobs to one and the other slides down into the underclass.

Instead, he advocates "programs to which the more advantaged groups of all races can positively relate." Most important is to stimulate the national economy so there is greater demand for new workers. He would replace "means-tested" programs-like welfare-aimed at the black poor with programs for job training, child care and education that are "available to all members of society who choose to use them." By making these available to all citizens, he contends, enough political support will be generated to sustain the effort. In Wilson's view, special treatment cannot help the underclass. In the long run, only by extending more opportunity to all Americans, regardless of class, will its problems - By Jack E. White/Chicago he solved



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TIME

American Notes







Muriel Clark acted timid to trap outlaw nursing-home officials



The Laxaits get into the race

CALIFORNIA

A Pariah On Parole

The crime was so stunningly brutal that the years have done little to calm public outrage. Lawrence Singleton, 59. was convicted in 1979 of kidnaping and raping a 15-yearold hitchhiker, then chopping off her forearms with an ax He left her to die in a culvert beside a rural Northern California road. But the girl survived the attack, managed to seek out assistance and later helped convict her tormentor. When Singleton was paroled two weeks ago, after serving nearly eight years of a 14year, four-month sentence, local officials across the state took court action to ensure that he would not settle in their communities.

After corrections officials assigned Singleton to parole in Antioch (pop. 48,000). some 40 miles northeast of San Francisco, nearly 10,000 town residents signed a petition opposing his presence. Fearing vigilante violence. county officials got a temporary court order to block the plan San Francisco County quickly followed suit, citing similar public safety con-cerns. Nearby San Mateo County also raised objections to having Singleton living within its borders. At week's end Singleton's ex-wife Mary Collins stated that she was not afraid of him and offered to take him into her home in Lake County, north of San Francisco. But noting the potential for vigilante revenge. Collins said that if Singleton moves in the two of them would have to find a new place to live.

SAN FRANCISCO

No Place Like Home

storage is cramped, and the front door is a hinged panel. But there is no charge for rent or utilities, and if the location is less than ideal-beneath an overpass at the edge of a San Francisco parking lot-at least the two snug, waterproof plywood structures are nestled among fragrant eucalyptus trees. Just 8 ft. long and 4 ft. wide, these so-called City Sleepers were designed by Architect Donald MacDonald to shelter the homeless men he spotted sleeping on the ground outside his new office. Said MacDonald: "I'm just trying to take some of the sting out of their lives."

The mattress is made of foam.

The architect hopes to persuade city officials to provide more of the innovative shelters for some of San Francisco's estimated 5,000 to 10,000 homeless people. Machanism of the units would cost only about \$800 apiece to build, and he has already identified spots for up to 500 of them on public land

within a five-block radius of his office. City hall is dubious. naturally—the Sleepers have no plumbing, and they are possible fire hazards—but so far the two shelters are a hit. They have been occupied every night since MacDonald built them last month.

INVESTIGATIONS

"Granny" Goes Underground

To the managers of two New York City nursing homes. Muriel Clark was a timid elderly woman whose son was determined to get her admitted, even if he had to fork over tens of thousands of dollars in "contributions" to do so. Little did they suspect that Clark, 81, was a volunteer state investigator. Clark's successful deception led to the arrests of three nursing-home officials for illegally soliciting donations in exchange for preferential treatment.

A feisty retired social worker who has remained active in social causes. Clark stepped into the spotlight hast week. As State Deputy Attorney General Edward Kuri-ansky tells the tale, she agreed in 1984 to visit the homes, posing as a would-be pattern and accompanied by a state investigation of the state of the stat

CAMPAIGNS

Joining The Crowd

One is the son of a Basque sheepherder who settled in Nevada, the other the child of Greeks who immigrated to Massachusetts Former Nevada Senator Paul Laxalt, 64, a Republican, and Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, 53, a Democrat, both announced their intentions to run for President last week.

and the second s

Dukakis declared his candidacy in four states in one day, first at a renovated mill in New Hampshire. He then drove home to Boston to repeat the announcement on snowcovered Boston Common, before continuing to Atlanta and Des Moines. In Boston, pointing to Massachusetts' much touted economic revival. Dukakis took a jab at Candidate Gary Hart's "new ideas" campaign: "Ask more than whether we have new ideas. Ask whether we have already made new ideas work.

DIPLOMACY

Playing It Cool

Reagan and Nakasone try to defuse growing trade-war tensions

he two leaders are old friends who have fallen on the hardest times of their political lives. Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone calls the American President "Ron," and Reagan calls the Japanese leader Thus Nakasone last week hoped to get a sympathetic welcome when he arrived in Washington for talks with Reagan aimed at defusing tense trade troubles between the two countries. Nakasone fully understood the importance of the trip, which he grandly described as the "most important journey ever made to Washington by a Japanese Prime Minister." As he jetted toward Washington, the Prime Minister read a

Inglon, the Prime Minister read a book about Prime Minister read a book about Prime Fumister read a book about Prime Fumimaro Komoe, Japan's pre-World War II leader. At one point he put the book down and mused out loud that a Komoe-Roosevell summit might have prevented the Pacific war.

Nakasone has been hit by a series of domestic troubles. The runaway increase in the value of the yen, which has jumped more than 90% since October 1982, has hurt many Japanese companies and pushed unemployment toward 3%, a postwar high. In April the Reagan Administration slapped a 100% tariff on \$300 million worth of Japanese electronics goods in retaliation for alleged trade misdeeds. which seemed to belie any special relationship between the two leaders. Then two weeks ago the Japanese parliament forced Nakasone to withdraw a cherished plan to impose a sales tax. The controversial measure was part of a broad effort to stimulate the economy by reforming the tax system. The setback placed the Prime Minister in desperate need of a foreign policy triumph to help keep him in office until his term ends in October.

Reagan could easily understand Natascon's political troubles because he has plenty of his own in the wake of the Irancontrascandal I maddition, Reagan has to deal with a Congress that has become increasingly protectionist. As America's trade deficit has steadily grown, political leaders have become more and more vocal in their demands for a half in Japunscial trade of the contrast of the contrast figures showing Jul. Japan's worldwide trade surplus balloomed to an assionishing \$10.14 billion in the twelve-month period



"The vote said clearly that we want a change."

Ja- | that ended in March. Some \$52 billion of |

that bulge came from trade with the U.S. The Administration has long been pulled in different directions over its trade policy toward Japan. While State Department and National Security Council of Japan. While State Department and National Security Council of Japan. While State Department and U.S. Trade. Representative Clayton Yeuter want to persuade Japan to open its markets more to American goods. In recent weeks the Administration has been using deristanding for Japan but pressuring the Japanese to do better.

Reagan was pushing that two-track approach last week even before Nakasone arrived. Speaking to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the President attacked a restrictive trade proposal put forth by Representative Richard Gephardt, a 1988 White House hopeful. The Gephardt plan was an amendment to a House trade bill that would force countries that pile up huge trade surpluses with the U.S. through unfair trade practices to slash the imbalances by 10% a year or face a barrage of withering sanctions. Reagan described it as a "particularly bad proposal." But in the same speech the President called on Japan to abide by the rules of fair trade. Declared Reagan: "The final answer to the trade problems between America and Japan is not more hemming and hawing, not more trade sanctions, not more voluntary-restraint agreements and certainly not more unfulfilled agreements. The answer is genuinely fair and open markets on both sides of the Pacific. And the sooner the better.

While Nakasone was flying to Washington, the House of Representatives passed the Gephardt amendment by a vote of 218 to 214. This signaled that the U.S was getting tough with Japan Said Gephardt. "The vote said very clearly and unequivocally that we want a change in trade

When Reagan and Nakasone first met on the sun-drenched White House South Lawn, the President again used the double-edged sword. Turning to television cameras that were carrying the ceremonies live back to Japan, he spoke of the importance of U.S. Japanese relations and told of the "great care" that has been taken over four decades."

taken over four decades to more and create this gem of a relationship." Yet he called the gaping trade imbalance between the two countries "unsustainable" and warned that "tangible actions must be taken by us both."

Nakasone sought the same ceremonial high ground. Said he: "I am deeply concerned that serious frictions on trade and economic issues are on the rise between our two countries. We should not allow such a situation to undermine the friendship and mutual trust between us:

Following the arrival ceremonies, the two leaders got down to serious talks. As they posed in the Oval Office for photogramphers. Reagan explained the Gephardt vote, saving. "We're now very much heartneed by the narrow margin of victory." because Yet in House later passed the final trade bill containing the Gephardt amendment by a decisive 290 to 137, just one vote by of the amount needed to override a veto.

hen talk turned to Reagant's 100% until 0 new 2000 to 100% until 0 netrain Japanese goods, the President said hexpected to lift the measures "as soon as possible". That could mean early June, when Japan joins the U.S. and major West. European nations in Venice for an economic summit. Nakasone would like the sanctions lifted even sooner. Calling them a "very sure thorn sticking in our small fanger." the Privace thorn sticking in our small fanger. The Privace thorn sticking in our small fanger. The Privace that Reagan did not give any specific date. The U.S. first wants to see clear signs that Japan is living up to a 1986 agreement to refrain from sell-



Together again: Ron greets Yasu in Washington on the sun-drenched White House lawn

ing semiconductors for less than it costs to produce them.

Nakasone attempted to disarm his critics by extending a few small olive branches. The Prime Minister said he had ordered the Finance Minister and the Bank of Japan to continue lowering interest rates to boost the Japanese economy and enable firms and consumers to buy more foreign products. The disclosure dovetailed neatly with congressional testimony last week by Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, who said the U.S. central bank was moving to push American interest rates higher. At week's end major U.S. banks raised their prime rate from 73/4% to 8%. Taken together, the U.S. and Japanese actions will make it more attractive for investors to hold dollars and less attractive to hold ven, which should strengthen the collapsing dollar against the surging ven.

he joint interest-rate moves reflected a quie effort to coordinate US, and Japanese economic policies. Though some Administration officials were initially surprised by Nakasone's announcement, the White House sone's announcement, the White House tart acknowledged that Treasury Secretary James Baker had discussed a combined policy with the Japanese and that Volslerk forces about it

While Nakasone was open and relaxed when talking with Administration officials, he found little to smile about once he ventured to see congressional leaders. His stops included an hourlong session with Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd and Republican Chief Robert Dole, in addition to a meeting with top House members. Byrd bluntly told him that the U.S. should keep its tariffs on Japanese electronic goods until Tokyo abandons all unfair trade practices. The Senate leader argued the same point in a letter to Reagan that warned against lifting sanctions until Tokyo demonstrates "sustained compliance" with trade agreements. Yet Nakasone's trip to Capitol Hill won him some respect, Said Senator Max Baucus, a Democrat from Montana and a trade hawk: "Now I understand why the Japanese do so well. They just hang in there. It was an im-

pressive performance."
Skepticism dogged the Prime Minister throughout his three-day visit. In the past few years several Japanese leaders have traveled to Washington and promised to take action that would reduce the trade deficit. But the only result has been a larger and larger trade imbalance.

and Barrett Seaman/ Washington

Darrett Seaman/ Washington

NICARAGUA

The Sad Saga of a Sandalista

An American death stirs sorrow, outrage and propaganda

harsh afternoon sun was setting A as the cortege made its way up the steep incline. Some of the men, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra among them, rotated as pallbearers. At the hilltop cemetery overlooking Matagalpa, a city 75 miles northeast of Managua, the crowd of more than 1,000 paid their final respects to Benjamin Linder. 27. an engineer from Oregon who died

last week of shrapnel wounds suffered during a contra attack. He was the first American volunteer working on behalf of the Sandinistas to die in Nicaragua's five-year-old civil war. Linder's parents and two siblings had flown in from the U.S., honoring Linder's request to be buried in Nicaragua if he was killed. Shortly before his father David poured Oregon soil on the wooden casket, he said. "Benjamin felt he belonged

Linder was killed while working, without wages, on a rural-electrification project in Nicaragua's north-central Jinotega province. But those simple facts quickly drowned last week in a flood of self-serving political rhetoric from all sides. At the funeral, Ortega charged that Linder had been "assassinated by mercenaries following orders from the CIA." Several American groups opposed to U.S. funding of the contras similarly held the Reagan Administration responsible for "murder." Linder's father also fingered Washington, declaring,"Who killed Ben? He was killed by someone, they were

hired by someone, and they were paid by | who was captured by rebels 18 months someone, and so on down the line to the President of the U.S." The contras tried to pin blame on Managua by charging the Sandinista regime with having allowed Linder to enter a war

The finger pointing was inflamed by the conflicting reports surrounding Linder's death. Eyewitness accounts reaching both Managua and the U.S. suggested that Linder and some government workers were measuring the water flow of a stream in a northern village when a band of contras struck. The contras claim that a fire fight ensued, a distinct possibility since the Sandinista leadership encourages Nicaraguans to carry weapons in war zones in self-defense. The rebels regard anyone armed or in uniform as a combatant, though the Sandinistas view many of the same people as civilians. It

remained unclear whether Linder, who sometimes carried a pistol for protection. was armed.

Most disturbing were suggestions that the contras had targeted Linder for execution. Although two Nicaraguan workers were also killed in the ambush, there were unconfirmed reports that Linder and his electrification program had been the focus of the attack. An American volunteer

Caught in the crunch: Linder working on a hydroelectric project Volunteers are altruistic to some, "frogs of the rabid dogs" to others.

ago said after her escape that she had seen Linder's name on a contra hit list. Last month a Nicaraguan woman emerged from rebel captivity with a similar report. The contras denied the charge. Harry Bergold, the U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua, dismissed the plot theory as "counterintuitive," arguing that the rebels knew they risked losing U.S. funding if they murdered an American

Linder was well aware of the danger he faced. Eight European volunteer workers have been killed over the past five years. When eight West Germans were kidnaned by the contras a year ago, all volunteers were ordered out of war zones. The order was later modified to cover only Europeans, thus raising suspicions that the Sandinistas reacted to pressure from countries that supplied financial aid. Linder, would not have been likely to heed such restrictions. The youngest child of parents active in left-wing causes, he graduated with an engineering degree from the University of Washington in 1983, then went to Nicaragua. After working briefly as a juggler for the Managua Circus, he volunteered to help the Nicaraguan Energy Institute. Later he began designing small hydroelectric plants for the northern departments. Because of his efforts, the hamlet of El Cuá now has electricity.

I inder was among the best of a group commonly known as sandalistas. The sardonic reference is to the beat-up sandals characteristically worn by volunteer

workers, but the word embraces all Westerners who go to Nicaragua to demonstrate their support for the eight-year-old revolution. Although no official account is available, the number of Americans is estimated at around 1.500. They include both teenagers and octogenarians and bring to their jobs varying degrees of intelligence. commitment and maturity. Many come for only a few weeks and get a Sandinistaguided tour. Others stay long enough to complete educational. medical and agricultural projects, and to share the impoverished living conditions of the Nicaraguan peasants.

Depending on whose political lens is trained on the sandalistas, they are either altruistic and committed or arrogant and shallow pawns of the Managua government. The contras disparage them as "frogs of the rabid dogs," a contemptuous reference for any Nicaraguan or foreigner who collaborates with the Sandinistas. Government critics even claim that they have heard Sandinista leaders privately allude to the volunteers as "useful fools." Certainly

they provide sorely needed assistance for the revolution's beleaguered health, education and land-reform programs. Most volunteers, tend to screen out the flaws of the Sandinista revolution. They would be unlikely to report home, for instance, that last week a heavily armed security force raided the offices of La Prensa, the opposition newspaper that the Sandinistas closed down last June.

Linder's death seems to be producing a new wave of volunteers. Last week several U.S. organizations were besieged by telephone calls. "The contra tactics are to demoralize Nicaraguans and scare Americans away," says Samuel Hope of the Washington-based Witness for Peace. "But the killing only inspires more of us to

go." That is doubtless the kind of memorial that would have pleased Benjamin - By Jill Smolowe. Reported Linder. by Laura López/Managua, with other bureaus

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Sue-icidal impulse held la production of the superior of the s

A woman attempts suicide by locking herself in the trunk of her car. Upon changing her mind and (luckily) being found, she sues the car maker.

When his electric power mower gets good with wet grass, a man turns it over and, without turning it off, reaches into the blade area and begins removing the clotted grass. He loses several fingers, sues the manufacturer, and wins.

A man stalls on an interstate highway. A woman stops to push him from the road, but she is rear-ended by a third and then a fourth car. She sues everybody. But only the original, stalled driver can pay. So the jury holds him liable. Judgment against him: \$885.000.

Today, the object is to collect—from someone. If the unlawful are bankrupt, the unethical have disappeared, or the careless are dead, there is usually someone else around with a "deep pocket" to pay.

This entitlement mentality has a terrible, corrosive effect on American society. We teach our children to be responsible for their own actions. Then we turn around and show them a system which rewards irresponsibility. The system seems to be saying, "No matter what happens, somebody must pay—preferably somebody rich!"

It's time to restore the principles of selfreliance and personal responsibility to our civil justice system, and there are some practical reforms that will do this. A majority of Americans agree that we should restore fairness to our product liability laws so that manufacturers who comply with standards of good practice and warn of all known hazards aren't held liable for misuse or abuse of their products.

And nearly three-quarters of Americans eshould limit liability to a defendants own share of the damages suffered by an injured person. Clearly, it is time for change. I hope you will join me in working for meaningful reform of our civil justice system.

I welcome your thoughts and ideas on how we can work together to restore fairness and balance to this system. And I would be pleased to send you information on some of the efforts that already are under way.

"The system seems to be saying, No matter what happens, somebody must pay—preferably



WESTERN EUROPE

Nervous About Nuclear Security

The allies pose tough questions as an arms-control deal nears

Puzzled Americans watched with concrear four years ago as hundreds of thousands of West Europeans protested the deployment of the U.S. intermediaterange missiles that the althed governments had requested. Now, with the U.S. and arms deal that would remove both American and Soviet missiles from Europe. some allies are usent by the development.

Last week Kenneth Adelman, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency director, summed up American exasperation with Eutope's apparent inconsistency. Said Adelman in an interview with the West German weekly Stern: "We have a perception that they complain when we deploy missiles, and complain when, we talk about pulling them out."

Back in 1979 NATO warned Moscow to scrap its new SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe or it would match those intermediate-range nuclear forces with U.S. weapons. The Soviets refused to budge, and NATO, in the face of widespread protests, began deploying cruise and Pershing II missiles.

NATO commanders claimed

that their new weapons strengthened the alliance's strategic doctrine of "flexible response," which calls for the use of NF and battlefield nuclear arms if NATO armies are threatened with defeat by an perior East bloc conventional commitment to Smissiles as clear symbols of America's continued commitment to Europe's defense. Nevertheless, NATO stuck to its original offer: if the Soviet SS-30 targeted on Europe were ever removed, the new NATO missiles

Now the sincerity of that proposal is on trial. Last week the Soviets submitted a draft treaty at arms talks in Geneva that calls for the elimination of both American and Soviet medium-range Euromissiles in and Soviet medium-range Euromissiles in the 300 observable of the second state of the second state

Senior alliance defense experts met last week at NATO headquarters in Brussels to coordinate the West's response to the latest Soviet offer. At the same time in Luxembourg foreign and defense ministers of the seven-nation Western European Union (WEU), a defense forum made up of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, huddled to review the security implications of the Soviet offer.

Attractive as the proposed cuts are to the general public, many European politicians fear that removal of all American INF missiles would leave dangerous holes in the U.S. nuclear umbrella. For their

EUROPE

part, NATO commanders warn that an INF deal would leave them overly reliant on tactical missiles and battlefield nuclear weapons to deter superior East bloc forces If NATO were attacked, the limited range of these weapons would prevent deep strikes into Soviet territory and would probably make West Germany the nuclear battleground.

The Europeans must now decide

whether Europeans must move decide whether the property of their own public opinion and accept the Soviet proposal or to press for a less sweeping dealt that would leave some U.S missiles in Europe. Britain and France, the only European countries that have independent nuclear weapons, favor the median property of the property of the

But such a proposal is politically complicated because NATO currently has only a handful of shorter-range missiles. Any attempt to deploy more weapons would doubtless cause a rerun of the 1983 antimissile protests. The Soviets might walk out of the arms talks. blaming their failure on NATO's decision to install more shorterrange weapons.

In Luxembourg the Europeans failed to arrive at a common position, largely because the West German government is still divided on the issue of new deployments. In addition, the WEU countries are refusing to be rushed into a quick decision. "We are not going to be bounced by

the Russians," said British Representative Lynda Chalker. Conceded Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, who is a zero-option supporter: "We must not act under pressure."

Many West Europeans feel that the Reagan Administration is in a hurry to cut an arms deal to help restore presidential prestige in the wake of the Iran-contra scandal. Europeans have noted that some respected American arms experts, including Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger and even Administration Arms Adviser Edward Rowny, have recently criticized the Reagan Administration's position. Still. European defense experts believe the allies will eventually agree to some treaty. Says a NATO diplomat: "The writing is on the wall. What Europe must do now is press for the best possi-ble conditions." Europeans would like to link cuts in nuclear weapons to reductions in Soviet chemical and conventional forces, even if that means complicating a deal

Last year's Soviet-American summit in Iceland, during which Reagan and Gorbachev came close to a bilateral agreement on the future of nuclear weapons in Europe, and the current progress

on an INF agreement have created a new European concern about looking out for No. I in defense matters. "What we have learned in the past year," says a British analyst." is that European and U.S. security interests need not always coincide. From now on Western Europe will have to think hard and do more for its own defenses."

At the WEU meeting the Europeans emphasized the "importance of further strengthening the European component of the North Atlantic Alliance." They stopped short, however, of declaring independence from the U.S. said the final communiqué. The presence of U.S. nuclear forces and the presence can be used to the said to t

TIME, MAY 11, 1987



Rising voices of protest: student demonstration at the University of Cape Town

SOUTH AFRICA

Bashing Heads Before Balloting

The government cracks down hard on the eve of elections

o to blazes!" That was South Afri-can Defense Minister Magnus Ma-next day police found the bodies of four lan's response last week to those who criticized his army's latest commando raid into black-ruled Zambia. The soldiers had allegedly attacked installations of the outlawed African National Congress, South Africa's largest black political movement. But Malan's angry words, uttered only days before South Africa's white voters were set to go to the polls this week, epitomized the attitude of State President P.W. Botha's government toward all opposition. both domestic and international

The raid into Zambia, where South African soldiers killed five people in the town of Livingstone, near Victoria Falls. undoubtedly strengthened the Botha government's standing among its right-wing supporters. So did a crackdown on demonstrations by students in Cape Town and Johannesburg. At the University of Cape Town, where some 300 white, black and mixed-race students gathered to protest the commando raid, police used tear gas. leather whips and bird shot to break up the meeting. On May Day, fearing another wave of unrest, the government banned rallies called by 20 black unions.

In Soweto, the huge black township outside Johannesburg, at least five firebomb attacks took place last week against commuter trains, and an explosion ripped apart the rail line at Soweto's Nancefield Station, preventing thousands of black officeworkers from reaching their jobs in Johannesburg. The violence grew out of a six-week-long strike by 16,000 black transport workers

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the black labor organization whose offices had previously been raided by police, last week won a court

black railway workers, who had been stabbed and burned, in the Johannesburg rail yards. A fifth body was discovered in Tembisa township, to the east of the city. White officials charged that the five had been killed by blacks for refusing to join the strike. Police once again raided the COSATU offices, this time armed with search warrants, and arrested twelve people.

The Botha government was also having troubles last week with the country's independent judiciary. Court rulings in Natal struck down two emergency regulations, one that prohibited campaigning for the release of detainees and another that restricted press reporting and public comment on unrest. The government is

certain to appeal the rulings. But despite the violence and legal challenges to Botha's policies, the results of this week's parliamentary elections were not in serious doubt. The National Party, which has ruled the country since 1948, was expected to win again, and perhaps even register a slight increase in its 116-seat majority in the 166-member House of Assembly. The opposition Progressive Federal Party, in league with the small New Republic Party, could not hope to add more than a handful of seats to its present 30. P.F.P. Leader Colin Eglin said he saw "the emergence among unwardly mobile city Afrikaners of a new spirit demanding new deals and moving away from the old shibboleths of Nationalist apartheid." That may be true, but such a spirit does not necessarily translate itself into immediate parliamentary - By William E. Smith. victories

Reported by Peter Hawthorne/Johannesburg

Removing the **Welcome Mat**

The U.S. bars Waldheim

n the eleven months since he was elected Austria's President. Kurt Waldheim has become known as the "prisoner of the Vienna Hofburg." Not that the former United Nations Secretary-General has been literally confined to the sumptuous gold-andwhite quarters that serve as his office. But in the wake of revelations that for decades he concealed much of his record as an officer in the German army during World War II. Waldheim has not formally received even one foreign head of state or paid a single official visit abroad, duties that are the stock-in-trade of his largely ceremonial office. Last week, in the most damaging blow yet, the Reagan Administration barred Waldheim from traveling to the U.S. While there is no definitive proof that

the Austrian President committed war crimes, a Justice Department spokesman said the "evidence collected establishes m prima facie case that Kurt Waldheim assisted or otherwise participated in the persecution of persons because of race. religion, national origin or political opinion." For years Waldheim had left the impression that he had been wounded on the Soviet front in 1941 and spent most of the remaining war years finishing his studies. He later admitted he was a first lieutenant on the staff of German Group E in the Balkans from 1942 to 1945. But he repeatedly denied he was aware of atrocities committed during the brutal German roundup of partisans in the Kozara region of Yugoslavia in the summer of 1942. More than 60.000 people were sent to concentration camps during the campaign, and thousands died in the process. Investigators also believe that Waldheim participated in the deportation of Greek Jews to Nazi death camps in 1944 and helped turn over Allied prisoners to the German SS



The President addressing countrymen on TV Insisting that "I have a clear conscience

Accusations about these dark chapters in Waldheim's past, based largely on material collected by the World Jewish Congress, began surfacing in 1985. During last year's presidential race in Austria, which Waldheim won with 54% of the vote, the U.S. came under intense pressure from Jewish groups to place Waldheim's name on its "watch list" of some 40.000 suspected war criminals, convicts, deportees and others who are unwelcome in the U.S. To avoid interfering with the Austrian elections. Washington chose to conduct its own meticulous investigation. including the examination by a Justice Department team of previously unavailable records in the Yugoslav war archives. The probe gave careful scrutiny to material submitted on half a dozen occasions by Waldheim in his defense. In the end, the effort served only to turn up more incriminating evidence. Says a Justice Department official: "The more we checked, the worse it got."

n spite of Administration efforts to limit the diplomatic fallout by insisting the U.S. action was "in no way a judgment against the Austrian people," the government of Chancellor Franz Vranitzky reacted with calculated displeasure. Austria pointedly recalled its Ambassador from Washington for consultations and rejected the U.S. charges as "unproven." Nor did officials in Vienna accept the U.S. view that the law excluding Waldheim permits waivers for those with diplomatic status. Said Foreign Minister Alois Mock: "You cannot differentiate between a private person and the President." But Vranitzky stopped short of canceling a scheduled visit to Washington later this month, explaining that he now needs to use his meeting with Reagan to press for the evidence on which the U.S. acted. Austrian political observers took that decision as a sign that Vranitzky, a Socialist, may want to distance himself from Waldheim, who was the presidential nominee of the opposition People's Party

Waldheim denounced the U.S. decision as "dismaying and incomprehensible" and told Austrians in a nationwide TV address "I have a clear conscience" Many Austrians rallied to his defense. feeling that he had not been allowed to defend himself in what amounted to an "inquisition," as one Vienna newspaper put it. Some publications called for Waldheim's resignation, less out of shame than as a way of ending the diplomatic isolation that threatens to accompany his presidency. Said the Socialist Party daily Arbeiter-Zeitung: resigning. Kurt Waldheim could take this weight off all of Austria." Waldheim is not expected to accede to such pressures. For one thing, he has recently picked up invitations to make three state visits-to Jordan, Egypt and Hungary that will finally allow the prisoner of the Vienna Hofburg a temporary flight of - By William R. Doerner. Reported by David Aikman/Washington and John Kohan/Vienna

MIDDLE EAST

Destined for a Dogfight

Peres and Shamir head for a showdown over a peace conference

srael's national unity government ap-represented in such a forum and under what conditions the Soviet Union would first 31 months. But by last week its two leaders. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, seemed increasingly destined to tangle in a bitter clash of wills. The reason: Peres wants Israel to cooperate with Jordan. the U.S. and probably Egypt in the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, but Shamir is dead set against the idea. When Peres left on a trip to Western Europe to pursue the plan, Shamir declared testily, "I hope he fails." Last week the Prime Minister made a quick visit to Paris. His stated mission: "To undermine European support for an international conference."

be invited.

If such a conference should take place, many believe it would quickly disintegrate into a dust storm of irreconcilable differences. No matter. It has already become a political issue that could break up Israel's national unity government. Peres is convinced that he has enough of a commitment from Hussein to justify requesting the Israeli Cabinet to endorse the idea of a conference. If it refuses, he seems determined to keep the peace initiative alive by bringing down the government and pushing for early elections. Peres told Israeli newspaper editors last week that he was "more than



Happier days: the Foreign Minister and Prime Minister after switching jobs last October The Likud fears a deal has been made for territorial compromise in the West Bank and Gaza

What was going on? A few weeks ago Peres reportedly held secret talks with Jordan's King Hussein. Peres apparently found a ready partner in Hussein, who has long advocated a peace conference at which he could deal directly with Israel without being branded a traitor to the Arab cause. His efforts to form a negotiating partnership with Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat failed a year ago

Peres has evidently concluded that the time is right for a peace initiative. In the interests of Palestinian unity, the P.L.O. recently cut itself off from both Jordan and Egypt, and remains estranged from Syria. Hussein was known to be impatient over the prevailing stalemate. Furthermore, the U.S. has been conferring with Israel. Jordan and Egypt about the possibility of a redefined peace conference. Unresolved were the questions of how the Palestinians would be optimistic" about the prospects for peace talks. Renlied Shamir: "I believe it would be irresponsible with regard to the country's interests to thrust us into the whirlpool of elections ... and, God forbid, send the country back into the period of inflation and instability

Thus the lines are drawn for a fierce political battle. The Likud fears that Peres has already made a deal with Hussein. committing the Labor Party to a territorial compromise over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as the price of Jordan's particination. Peres will travel to Washington next week to see Secretary of State George Shultz. The Reagan Administration has been lukewarm about an international conference, but American diplomats in the region have sought dutifully to mediate a workable plan. The last thing Washington wants is to be pitched into the midst of a political battle royal .- By William E. Smith.

Reported by Johanna McGeary / Jerusalem







Potions and amulets: Commander Blackie, a Tadtad leader, flanked by members of his self-defense unit

Rise of the Vigilantes

New anti-Communist groups present prickly political problems

They go by names like Soldiers of Christ, Nation Watchers and the People's Movement Against Communism. Some of their members are menacing-looking young men and women with headbands and bolo knives stuck in their belts or automatic weapons slung over their shoulders. The more bizarre groups are called Tadtad. or Chop, because they ritually slash their bodies during initiation. They believe in potions and amulets that they say make them invisible to their enemies.

The groups are collectively known as vigilantes, anti-Communist self-defense bands that have proved so strong a bulwark against subversion by the insurgent New People's Army that they have gained immense popular support. They present a unique and prickly political problem for the government of President Corazon Aquino. Now firmly established on the large southern island of Mindanao, they are beginning to spread to other parts of the country. Though separate from the renegade warlords and private armies that still plague areas of the Philinpines, the vigilantes are part of a tradition that Aquino's government would like to stamp out. The new constitution calls for disbandment of all paramilitary groups not sanctioned by the government

But the groups' popularity has resulted in official ambivalence. In mid-March. Aguino announced that all paramilitary groups would henceforth be banned.

Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos strongly protested. "If there's any group that should be dissolved, it's the N.P.A.," he said. Aguino backtracked, saying there would be "no immediate dismantling" of the groups.

As on many issues. Aquino is caught between the right and left wings of her fractious government. Her liberal advisers charge that the vigilantes threaten to become the Philippine equivalents of Latin American death squads. Says Haydee Yurac, a former member of Aquino's Presidential Commission on Human Rights: "It's a dangerous phenomenon that can easily get out of hand." Conservatives, including many officials of the Roman Catholic Church, counter that the people have a right to self-protection. The vigilantes, says Jaime Cardinal Sin. the outspoken Archbishop of Manila, represent the "people reacting to the violence of the rebels." Says Army Commanding General Rodolfo A Canieso: "It is the inherent right of a citizen to defend himself. Everything else is politics

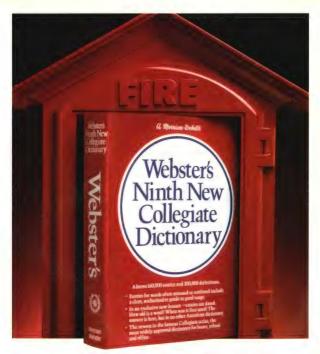
The vigilantes have proved an effective tool for counterinsurgency alongside the still ill-equipped and poorly paid Philippine armed forces. Nowhere is that clearer than in Davao City, the sprawling city-state in southeastern Mindanao. A year ago Davao City and its 1.4 million people were so firmly in the control of the insurgents that Manila officials called the

Taking over: a roadblock in Davao city a Communist "urban laboratory." But in the past eight months the N.P.A. has

fled into the hills, and the city has been transformed into a government stronghold. The main agent of change: the vigilante group Alsa Masa, or Uprising of the Masses

As late as last summer, when Lieut. Colonel Franco Calida took over as military commander and police superintendent in Davao City, Alsa Masa had only seven members. "I told this group to go forth and multiply," recalls the colorful Calida, whose office is a veritable arsenal of guns and grenades. "In a week there were 22, then 40, then 70, then 100 ... Alsa Masa, now several thousand strong, imposed a system of checkpoints, armed patrols, covert neighborhood surveillance, 'tax donations" and more than a little intimidation. N.P.A. members who have failed to present identification quickly at Alsa Masa checkpoints have been shot on the spot. Calida insists that Alsa Masa is law-abiding. He says he gives guns only to those who belong to the Civilian Home Defense Force. President Aquino is believed to sup-

port a gradual phaseout of the vigilantes in favor of a citizens' army based on the Israeli model Says she: "The challenge is to mobilize people in the defense of their communities but with all the safeguards that will prevent the abuse of this great power." The problem is that Alsa Masa and its counterparts have been effective in the battle against the Communists. Vigilante supporters say Aquino cannot afford to ignore their successes, whatever the long-term risks - By Michael S. Serrill. Reported by William Stewart/Manila



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World Notes



Unlikely victim: bilked by mailmen



Hot off the presses: porn for sale above the counter in Paris



Feminists: clout at last

Risking Death By Ridicule

The Cabinet of Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani was only ten days old when it fell iast week. That made it one of the shortest lived of fally sed post-war governments. The calinguistic properties of the properti

Cossign's move ended a rancorous eight-week search for a successor to the five-party coalition that Bettino Craxis headed for 3½ years. Craxis government fell apart in March, after menths of infighting between his Socialists and the politics surrounding the collapse were so bizarre, said a Milan daily, that "this republic risks dying of ridicule."

Ripping Off Mother Teresa

Under ordinary circumstances, a missing check might attract little notice. But the aggrieved party was Mother Teresa, the gentle Nobel Peace laureate,

and the money involved was a donation to support her work with children in Calcutta's stums. Indian police soon homed in on the mail-sorting office at Calcutta Airport. There they found a ring-systematically flicting check-stuffed and sending them to accompliese in Hong Kong and Singapore to be cashed or stashed in bank accounts.

To date police have traced \$150,000 in stolen funds and arrested six people, but the investigation is far from complete. "It is a terrible thing," said Mother Teresa: "Many of the donors are small children who save money and send it to feed hunery children."

FRANCE

Bad News at The Sex Shop

More than 200 guests trooped up the flight of unmarked stairs in a bland Paris office building fast week to view a show billed as an "Exhibition of Horrors." The photographs lining the stucce walls were a lurid selection from sex magain from the French edit of the stucked of the state of th

The impresario? None other than Interior Minister Charles Pasqua, who staged

the display as part of a campaign against pornography. Dubbed "Pasqua's Sex Shop" by the press, the antiporn program quickly backfired. An uncooperative President François Mitterrand declared that the opposed all forms of center of the company of the conservation of the conservation of the conpany of the conpany of the contraction of the contraction of the conpany of the contraction of the contraction of the contraction of the conpany of the contraction of the contraction of the conpany of the contraction of the

UNITED NATIONS

A Safer Zone For the Ozone

Fiften years ago, scientists began notking that the earth's protective owne layer was being depleted by a group of chemicals known as chlorofluroccarbons. They warned that deterioration of the owne, which blocks the sun's harmful ultravider rays, could lead to an increase in skin cancer and disastrous climatic changes, including an overall warning of the earth's atmosphere

Despite strong anti-crt(
laws in the U.S. and Canada,
many countries continued to
allow the compound to be used
as a propellant in aerosol products and as a cooling agent in
refrigerators air conditioners
and other appliances Finally,
last week representatives of 31
last week representatives of 31
vest Germany and the Sowie
Union, agreed that hy 1992
they would out back on their

production of chlorofluorocar-

bons by 20% Mostafa Tolba, executive director of the U.N. Environment Program, felt the agreement did not go far enough. He warned. "If we mess up this planet, we can't go and look for another."

ICELAND

Power to The Women

Iceland's Althing, or parliament, is the oldest in the world, dating back to the year 930. Still, it is fairly bursting with modern ideas Since 1983 the assembly has been home to the world's first feminist party to win parliamentary representation, the Women's Alliance. Last week the party came a step closer to wielding real power On April 25, Icelandic voters ousted the center-right government of Prime Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson and in the process gave the Alliance 10% of the vote.

That increased the women's strength from three to sis sears in the 63-sear parliament. The women now hold the balance of power, and will probably end up in a new center-right governing coalition. The Adliance tours a "policy of posed in principle to military alliances. Its members, however, are spit over whether level and should withdraw from NATO.

INDIA



"America, we apologize."



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When we introduced Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager, we knew they were right for America. We just didn't know it would turn into a love affair. But it did. Even 81% of Ford and GM owners, recently tested, rated us best against Ford Aerostar and Chevy Astro.

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Lee a Jacous

CHRYSLER 7/70

If you're looking for who builds them best, take a good look at who backs them best. "



and Plymouth Grand Voyager.

And new V-6 power to carry it all.

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Law

Sexual Abuse or Abuse of Justice?

Sometimes the accused child molester may be the victim

The world fell in for Lawrence Spiegelin December 1983. After a bitter divorce and custody fight. Spiegel was arrested on a complaint by his co-write and charged with the complaint by his co-write and charged with the complaint of the complaint

In 1986 he was acquitted of the abuse charges, and today he has joint legal custody of his daughter. He also has a new book. A Question of Innecence (Unicorn Publishing, the late has been a fine and the late of the late of

charged with sexually abusing children But only one was convicted, while two were-acquitted, and charges against 21 others were dropped. They are suing the county for, among other things, the damage caused when children were taken from their parents by authorities, some for a year or more.

This week jury selection continues in Los Angeles in the notorious McMartin Preschool case. In a trial expected to

last more than a year. Peggy McMartin Buckey, 60, and her son Raymond, 28. face charges involving 99 counts of sexual molestation. But similar charges against the school's founder and four former teachers were dropped because of insufficient evidence. The five who are pursuing a joint \$50 million defamation and negligence suit, claim their lives were ruined "It cost us our home," says Betty Raidor. 67, who spent three months in jail until she could make the \$750,000 bail. "They pushed the panic button and went on a witch-hunt

Just how common false charges have become is hotly disputed. The number of confirmed cases of sexual abuse has skyrocketed, from 6,000 in 1976 to 113,000 in 1985.



Spiegel and Daughter Jessica: "I wanted to kill myself"
A raft of Julse charges mar the efforts to protect children.

But a recent study of 4.19 child sex-abuse reports in Deaver found that 8% were plainly fictitious and another 22% unsupported by evidence. However, Captain Sharon Moody, the respected child-crimes-unit commander in suburban Atlanta's Cobb County, speaks for many police and pro-child activities when she insists, "I don't think it has increased Blanning false reporting gives us an ex-

cuse, so we as a society don't have to deal with the problem."

If phony charges are up, what would account for the rise? Douglas Besharov, a child-welfare expert at the conservative

American Enterprise Institute, concludes that three-fourths of falsecusations come from adults, not children. Laws in every state require leachers, nurses and other professionals to report any suspicion of sexual abuse, with penalties for failing to do so. Also judges are interingly less willing to assign children automatically to mothers. The case is the control of the control inness as a weapon of bast reconsttions as a weapon of bast reconst-

University of Michigan Psychologist and Lawyer Melvin Guyer reports that sex-abuse charges figure in about 30% of the state's contested custody cases, up from 5% in 1980 Such developments have helped fuel the nationwide growth of VOCAL. Victims of Child Abuse Laws, a lobbying and referral group that was started three years ago in Minneapolis because of the Jordan case Some divorce lawyers routinely advise clients of the danger of such charges. "You're asking for trouble if you give your child a bath without someone else's being there."

Iren. says Attorney Katharine Sweeney. who served as court-appointed guardian for Spiegel's daughter. "And you never, ever, sleep in the same bed."

In addition to angry spouses, critics blame inadequately trained investigators and overly determined psychologists who push the youngsters with repetitive and pointed questioning. "They stop only when they get the affirmative answer they want." says Daniel Schuman. director of psychiatry at the Norfolk County Probate

Court in Massachusetts. Minnesota has already begun a program to set limits on appropriate questioning of children. But even experts who worry about false accusations agree there are grave risks in overreacting in the other direction. Real abuses are commonplace, as was dramatized last week by the revelation that President Reagan's son Michael was molested at the age of 7 by a day-camp director. Until a decade ago, child sex abuse was largely swept under the judicial rug Says University of Miami Psychiatry Professor Laurie Braga: "It's taken so much to get people to the point where they would take a child's word." - By Richard Lacayo, Reported by Bill Gannon/New York and Elizabeth Taylor/ Chicago

Keeping The Word

"Words are slippery," warned Historian Henry Adams. The word propaganda has slipped quite a bit. At one time it described any information, true or false, that was spread to promote a cause. But today nearly everyone understands it as referring to distortions of the truth. That did not sway the U.S Supreme Court last week. It ruled 5 to 3 that the Justice Department could invoke a World War II-era law to label as "political propaganda" three Canadian documentaries on acid rain and nuclear war, including a 1983

Academy Award winner. Writing for the majority, Justice John Paul Stevens pointed out that the Foreign Agents Registration Act in 1942 defined propaganda in its broader sense, without designating it as true or false. Therefore, he said, the Government's use of the term to classify the films "has no pejorative connotation," and to require that they be registered under that law does not chill First Amendment freedoms. The dissenters complained that the majority reasoning smacked of newspeak. Wrote Justice Harry Blackmun: "It simply strains credulity for the court to assert that 'propaganda' is a neutral classifica-

Economy & Business

Trouble on the Horizon

Europe's Airbus threatens the dominance of U.S. jet builders

mid all the hand wringing about the huge U.S. trade deficit. Americans have at least been able to point with pride to their jet builders. Boeing and McDonnell Douglas won more than 65% of world orders for commercial passenger planes last more precarious by the day. Europe's Airbus Industrie, which once seemed like a truly speck on the horizon, is closing fast

with hot new planes and cut-rate prices. Subsidized by European governments and charged by its rivals with making underhanded deals to win sales. Airbus has brought flercer competition to an industry that has never been tranquil. It has also sparked a serious trade dispute between the U.S. and to alless across the Atlantic. He U.S. and to alless across the Atlantic with the U.S. and to the U.S. and to make the U.S. and to milk the U.S. and to milk the U.S. and the U.S.

Airbus has been soaring especially high as a result of its new A320. This technologically advanced short- to mediumrange (up to 3.500 miles) jet, unveiled in February, will carry as many as 150 passengers. The world's airlines, including two American carriers, have made commitments to buy about 440 of the A320s, making it the fastest-selling new plane in aviation history. Moreover, Airbus is already taking orders for the A330 and the A340, two larger intercontinental planes that are only on the drawing board. To the astonishment of Boeing and McDonnell Douglas, Minneapolis-based Northwest Airlines placed a giant \$2.5 billion order for up to 30 of the A330 and A340 models. Says Wolfgang Demisch, who follows the industry for First Boston: "Airbus is now in the big leagues.

And rising swiftly in the standings. The European firm last year won nearly 25% of worldwide jet orders, up from 11% in 1985, according to the Montreal-nization. At the same time, Seattle's Beeing has watched its share of the business dip from 58% to 49%. St. Louisness dip from 58% to 49%. St. Louisness dip from 68% to 49%. St. Louisness dip from 98% to 49% been with 17% down from 19% the previous year, all-down from 19% the previous year.

Airbus' current success is all the more surprising because it was slow to get off the ground. Created in 1970, the consortium is funded by publicly and privately owned aircraft builders in France, Britain. West Germany and Spain. But it did not sell a single jet to a U.S. airline for seven years. Says Robert Kugel, an aerospace analyst at the Morgan Stanley investment firm: "U.S. carriers wouldn't touch European airliners with a ten-foot pole. They had a reputation for poor quality and maintenance." That perception gradually changed. By 1987 some 360 of the medium-range A300 (up to 375 passengers) and the A310 (250 passengers) were flying under the banners of 58 airlines around the world, including such U.S. carriers as Eastern and Pan Am.

But the A320 outsold its predecessors even before it was ready for commercial takeoff. The first models, which are now being assembled at the Toulouse produc-



No model has sold faster than Airbus' A320

tion facilities of Aérospatiale, the French state-owned aircraft company, should be delivered by next spring. The A320's most impressive claim: the first fully computerized flight-control system. Among other things, the equipment prevents the plane from stalling or exceeding speed limits.

The A320 is drawing sales away from some of the bread-and-butter planes made by U.S. manufacturers-Boeing's 737 and McDonnell Douglas' MD-80 But the Americans are planning to fire back some shots of their own. McDonnell Douglas estimates that by 1991 its MD-91X, a new version of the MD-80, will be flying. It will be powered by an energy-efficient engine known as an unducted turbofan, which features twin sets of rotor blades located at the rear of the engine. Boeing, meanwhile, is developing a new mediumrange aircraft, the 7J7, which will also have an unducted turbofan engine. Projected launch date for the 7J7: 1992

Until now, Airbus has steered clear of the long-range (more than 5,000 miles) market. But that could change with the by modifying its 767. The new 767-300 Extended Range will have a range of 6.600 miles, compared with 5.700 miles for its current counterpart.

and the statement and McDonnell Douglas answer the Arbus challenge bey complain that the fight is unfair features of the state of the s

in response. Airbus executives point out that U.S. aerospace firms have benefited from billions of dollars in Government defense contracts. That might be seen as a form of indirect subsidy, since the funds have enabled aircraft companies to develop new designs that can be used in commercial manufacturing. European supporters of Airbus suggest that, with

Confronted by such cultivates competition, McDonnell Douglas has discussed making a truce with Airbus several timesduring the past few years. The American company suggested that the competitors form a joint venture to baild long-range jets together and thus combine forces gaint beeing Soya McDonnell and the gaint beeing Soya McDonnell and the fighting for the same piece of meat, we could strengthen ourselves with cooperation." So far, though, Airbus has declined the offer.

The international aircraft rivalty has become a major source of contention between U.S. and European trade epresentuies. Wishington is naturally aircraft that the American sensor between U.S. and European trade is the sensor source of the property of the American sensor in the Europeans in an effort to personate them to them to curb the Airbus Michael Smith last week: "We want to define the expension of the property of the pro



Boeing technicians test equipment inside the 767-300 Extended Range A new McDonnell Douglas engine features twin sets of rotor blades



Boeing technicians test equipment inside the 767-300 Extended Range A new McDonnell Douglas engine features twin sets of rotor blades
"We used to sell 227s like you sell Mercedes. This one's nice and there's the price... take it or leave it. But times have changed."

arrival of the A340 Though the European backers have not given final approval to the proposed plane, which will be developed in andere with the A330, a medium-range jet, Airbus is proceeding with development plans. Industry observers expect the company to get the go-ahead—and some \$3 billion worth of launch money—by this summer. Airbus has already limed up 124 orders for the A330 and A340 for delivery in 1992 or 1993. It hopes ultimately to sarez \$250 of the long-

haul market.

This new generation of Airbus planes could threaten McDonnell Douglais.
planned MD-1. An ungraded evasion of
go into service in 1990, about two years
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arrival of the A340. Though the European | some 65% of the market, American com-

US manufacturers also accuse Airbus of unfair trade practices. Members of the consortium are said to arrange for foreign airlines to win landing eights at European airports in exchange for buying Airbus planes. Some industry insiders charge that, in trying to sell the A340, Airbus offered a potential customer a nointerest \$10 million loan. Airbus officials flatly deny these charges.

McDonnell Douglas has a particular grievance against Airbas. using "preda-tory" practices in trying to persuade customers who had already ordered the MD-contest who had already ordered the MD-Scandinavian SAS airlines had signed a letter of inent to buy a dozen MD-I s and had put down a deposit on the order. Then Airbas jumped in with attractive concessions to SAS on a deal (the details had delived its final decision.

As diplomats negotiate, Boeing and McDonnell Douglas executives are pod-dling their planes more aggressively than in the past. Says Dean Thornton, president of Boeings commercial-plane divisions. We used to sell rice and there's the price on the window, take it of rease it. But times have changed. Now both American aircraffmakers offer better service, supply spare parts in advance and squarantee maintenance costs.

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M. Reingold/Los Angeles

Economy & Business

Going from Gloom to Boom

Robust sales give personal-computer makers new hope

44T he slump is over," crows Tandy Chairman John Roach Indeed, Roach and his computer-industry rivals have reason to feel a sudden rush of confidence. After being relatively cool to personal computers for three years, customers are snapping them up faster than a high-speed printer spews out sprocketed paper.

The big four in personal computing— IBM. Apple. Compag and Tandy logged first-quarter unit sales of PCs that were about 10% higher than last year's. Industry analysts expect the spurt to signal the start of a lasting recovery. The Dataquest market-research firm predicts that personal-computer unit sales will rise 14% for the vear as revenues surge 19%.

The industry's fortunes first flagged in 1984, when many corporate customers who had bought PCs began to find they were too difficult to use and too limited in their applications to be practical. Millions of the machines had become little more than expensive paperweights. But over the past year advanced technology has begun to turn things around. Faster, easierto-use models came to the market, and more are on the way. Just as important. innovative software for old and new machines has made personal computers more versatile. It is now possible to turn out printshop-quality graphics-and design everything from cabinets to cathedrafs-on the space of a desktop

New hardware components promise to expand horizons and boost sales even more. A silicon chip known as the Intel 80386 microprocessor already runs Compaq's IBM-compatible Deskpro 386. giving it the power of bigger minicomputers for the price of a PC. At Apple, design engineers use a Motorola chip comparable

Worldwide shipments of personal computers, in millions of units

to Intel's for their Macintosh machines, now the industry's hottest-selling family of personal computers.

IBM's sales will gain momentum when the world's No. I computer maker begins summer shipments of four new models using the Intel chip. Once the machines get their full complement of software sometime next year, they are likely to set new performance standards. But customers no longer hold their breath for the latest gear with IBM's distinctive blue markings. Even though buyers knew for much of 1986 that IBM was readying the new line, "they needed new machines and were not going to wait around forever," says Bill Lempesis, a Dataquest analyst. While some settled for deeply discounted older IBM models, others turned to Tandy, Compaq and Apple. In addition to offering fresh technol-

and adduction to offerening flesh (technical persons). The manufacturers are getting sovieting one of the project of the proje

Corporate customers have a new appreciation for the potential of the personal computer. Increasingly, they are stringing together networks of PCs and utilizing the equipment to the fullest. "Everybody has finally started figuring out how to use all these screens. Keyboards and wires to their competitive advantage." says Analtyst Jonathan Fram. of Bear Stearns.

The buying surge is lining the pockets of computer makers. Compan, having rocketed last year to the rarefied ranks of the Fortune 500 in just its fourth year of operation, saw first-quarter profits jump 142%, to \$20 million. Apple is so awash in capital that it has declared its first cash dividend, a bonus for stockholders, whose shares marched from 30 a year ago to 80 by the end of last week. Tandy, the No. 2 maker of IBM-compatible machines behind Compaq, pushed its quarterly earnings up 20%. Even IBM, which has been hard hit by competition from these rivals and Asian manufacturers of so-called clones, racked up what the normally closemouthed company boasts is a record quarter in PC sales.

No one expects numbers like these to continue apace for the year. Gone are the go-go days of the early 1980s, when revenue growth topped 60% for three years in a row. But most analysts guess that the good news should last into 1988. After a slump, even a small step toward recovery is reason to rejoice. — By Carden Bock.

Software Plays Hardball

Just as competitive as personal-computer makers are the feitily independent companies that write the software for the machines. The programming firms, only frail upstarts not long ago, now constitute a \$5.3 'dline ILL's industry whose creweck two major hardware manufacturers. IBM and Applea anounced major moves that could have an impact on the almonaced major moves that could have an impact on the almonaced major moves that could have an impact on the almonaced major moves that could have an impact on the almonaced major firms that the sum of the manufacturers. The sum of the manufacturers's 570'm rillion cash with some of the manufacturers's 570'm rillion cash by the country of the sum of the manufacturers's 570'm rillion cash by the country of the sum of the manufacturers's 570'm rillion cash to the sum of the manufacturers's 570'm rillion cash to the sum of the sum

The IBM deal will help Lotus (1986 sales: \$282.8 million) stick back at its nemesis. Microsoft, which has zoomed past Lotus to become the industry's No. 1 company. Microsoft's rise was due in large part to an agreement with IBM to develop

op software for the manufacturer's personal-computer line. But now Lotus is getting an even more challenging IBM assignment: to adapt the top-selling Lotus 1-2-3 business-ledger software and other programs to much larger computers. Lotus would thus become the first company among its person to graduate from personal computers to huge mainframes. The deal is just as promising for IBM, which will now have the two top software makers under its who can be supported to the program of the

That could be disturbing for Apple, which needs a steady flow of fresh software for products like the Macintohi. So last week Apple announced plans to set up a well-financed, independent software company that could eventually drank among the industry's top five producers. The new concern will initially develop software only for Apple machines under an unspecified non-Apple name. The company will aim in part to seek on the new does from small-time independent of the control of the c

Bond Bombshell

Cost of a gamble: \$250 million

t started as a mistake, by all signs an honest one, but it grew into a Wall Street disaster. A 36-year-old senior bond trader at Merrill Lynch apparently lost his cool last month when rising interest rates started rapidly eroding the value of his \$900 million portfolio. Instead of liquidating the securities and taking the loss, as most of his colleagues on Wall Street were doing, the Merrill Lynch trader seemingly gambled on a go-for-broke strategy. Without his employer's permission, he plunged in deeper, buying up \$800 million more of the securities in the hope that an interestrate turnaround would bring enough profits to bail out all his losses. His wager failed spectacularly. When Merrill Lynch announced the episode last week, the firm estimated its losses at \$250 million, possibly the largest single trading deficit in Wall

The financial community was stunned at not only the immensity of the loss but also the identity of the trader: Howard Rubin, the head of Merrill Lynch's trading desk for mortgagebacked securities. Rubin, who has been fired but not charged with any criminal wrongdoing, was a respected trader and is a Harvard Business School graduate. Said Stephen Joseph, a senior trader at Drexel Burnham Lambert: "It's really strange. He has a great reputation.

But Rubin was apparently dealing in one of the tricky, relatively untested new types of securities. The bonds that tripped up Merrill Lynch are interest-only principal-only securities, known as IOPOs. Investment houses create them by buying mortgage-backed bonds-typically those issued by the Government National Mortgage Association, or Ginnie Maeand then splitting the securities into two parts, one that pays interest and another whose price rises or falls with the resale value of the bond. Rubin was selling the



interest-paying bonds and hanging on to the principal securities, which lost value rapidly as interest rates rose

The incident prompted questions about Merrill Lynch's internal supervision. The firm claimed it had put a closer watch on Rubin at least a year earlier, after assessing him as talented but riskprone. Last week the company began an in-house probe and fired a second trader. who had allegedly failed to disclose investments and lost \$10 million. Meanwhile, colleagues began looking for hints in Rubin's background about why he took such a plunge. According to one account, the trader had been a devoted blackjack player before his business-school days.



An FDIC official, right, and a guard move a cart containing cash from Unitedbank's teller drawers

"Nobody Thought It Would Be Us"

When a Texas bank goes belly-up, the Feds swoop down fast

that have failed this year. The collapse of Unitedbank-Houston (assets: \$218 million) showed once again how shaky some parts of the American financial system are, especially in the depressed oil patch. When officials from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation shut down the bank last week, TIME Correspondent Richard Woodbury went along to see how such an operation is carried out. As it happened, the drama had an unexpected denouement. His report

eeling from bad loans and famished for new capital. Unitedbank was a prime candidate for closure. Still, when an army of FDIC liquidators marched without warning into the bank's headquarters in a downtown skyscraper, the staff of 100 were traumatized. Secretaries wept as the intruders posted notices on the inlaidglass walls, changed the door locks and dismantled automatic-teller machines. "We kept hearing the rumors, but nobody thought that this time it would be us." sighed Teller Erica Joiner, 30, who watched as armed guards took up positions in the lobby and federal officials affixed blue seals to cash drawers

Unitedbank's fall resulted from the go-go style of Chairman Vincent Kickerillo, a local land developer. Taking over in 1968. Kickerillo overcommitted the bank to real estate loans and investments in other banks during the oil boom of the late '70s and early '80s. When the economy soured in 1982, so did Unitedbank. By this year it was losing \$1 million a month. For a time Kickerillo, a self-made millionaire who commuted to work in a jet heliconter. covered the losses himself. But after an audit three weeks ago showed Unitedbank to be \$7 million in the red. authorities moved to declare it insolvent

Last Wednesday 150 FDIC liquidators began gathering in Houston. To avoid detection that could lead to a run on the

It was the largest of the 69 U.S. banks | bank, they slipped into a downtown hotel under the cover identity of "Gulf Coast Tours." At 3:12 the next afternoon, minutes after the end of the banking day, they started streaming into the classy marble headquarters and three downtown branches. After assembling the headquarters employees in a basement lobby, Liquidation Specialist Timothy Putnam told them, "As of now, you're on the payroll of the FDIC. You'll get overtime tonight. Balance your windows. Finish your processing. Dinner is coming in.

With that, federal officials wheeled vans to the doors, unloaded portable computers and typewriters and fanned across the bank's five floors, counting cash in the vault, poring over spread sheets and answering the ringing phones with "FDIC. In the executive suite. Secretary Debbie Bratton watched in disbelief as strangers carted off the Texas banking charter. Fretted New Accounts Representative Norma Villaloboz: "Everyone's in shock. Hopefully, somebody will buy us out.

At week's end a rescuer appeared. The American Bank, a smaller institution two blocks away, agreed to acquire the insured deposits of Unitedbank and buy some of its good loans. As word spread that withdrawals could be made on Monday, worried depositors in the lobby broke into wide grins.

But the acquisition still left FDIC Liquidation Chief Frank Norris with the task of trying to collect on Unitedbank's pile of bad loans, some 55% of its portfolio. Assets also include a foreclosed motel, two 150-ton cranes and the gold-color Mercedes-Benz 500 SEL that Kickerillo drove. The FDIC will have to unload the lavish appointments in the bank's 43rdstory penthouse, where Kickerillo and his wife Mary, the bank's vice chairman, once entertained high-rolling clients. Among the fixtures: ten ostrich-skin chairs, imported crystal and a sauna.

Economy & Business

A Handshake for All Seasons

Two entertainers keep a pact to split their profits-forever

What do Frank Sinatra. Diana Ross. Seic Diamond, Munui Vice. Little Ston of Horrors and Nair hair-removal cream have in common? They have all generated earnings for an obscure Los Angeles company; the Four Seasons Partnership. Like many businesses in the entertainment field. the firm employs technicians, musicians of the company is a 25-year-old creative and financial partnership between two men—Bob Gaudio and Frankle Valli—hat his highly unusu-

Copacabana, he gave half of his earnings to Valli, who had nothing to do with the show. When Valli headlined a big concert last year at New Jersey's Meadowlands Arena. Gaudio got half the profits even though he was in London producing the sound track for the movie Little Shop of Horrors. Naturally, Valli got half the profits for Gaudio's film work.

The arrangement dates back to 1962, when Gaudio and Valli, who came from working-class Italian neighborhoods in the Bronx and Newark, respectively, were Vallis' home is in Fort Lee. N.J.
The Four Seasons Partnership has
various music publishing and production
subsidiaries But the proceeds from Vallis'
concerts. TV appearances and record
sale, plus royalist from Gaudoi's writing
and production work, are utilimately funneted to the Los Angeles office of the
Manhattan-based Barnah. Goodfreed' &
Manhattan-based Barnah. Goodfreed' &
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band members who back up Valli in the
band members who back up Valli in the
Four Seasons. The accountants divide the
Four Seasons. The accountants divide the

net profits between Valli and Gaudio

million on the strength of their original handshake. Says Valli: "If you trust your

partner, contracts are not important. We have never had to police one another." In-

deed, they see each other only occasionally. Gaudio is based in Los Angeles, while

The two admit that the partnership would be strained if one of them consistently earned much more money than the total partner time things even out. In 1978 Valli was the big breadwinner because he sange the title song from the movie Greeze, which brought in an estimated 22 million for the partnership. In 1981 Gaudio starred, when the music he produced for the Neil Diamond movie The Jazz Singer earned him perhaps \$1 million or more after diverying up with Valli.

he partnership has endured several crises. In 1967 Valli realized he was losing his hearing because of otosclerosis. a rare inner-ear ailment. One doctor told him that he would go completely deaf. At about the same time, sloppy management of the Four Seasons' business affairs plunged the group some \$2 million in debt. To recoup, Valli embarked on a grueling schedule of about 300 concerts a year from 1969 to 1973. During that period, his ears got so had that at times he had trouble hearing the band playing behind him. Finally, a series of operations restored most of Valli's hearing, and a string of No. 1 hits in the 1970s put the Four Seasons back on easy street

Today, Gaudio and Valli could retire and still earn a splendid living. Every time a radio station plays one of their records, the partnership makes money. Royalities from past hits bring in as much as \$700,000 a year. Many of Gaudio's perky compositions seem to be perpetual moneymakers. The first song he ever write was it became the theme song in commercials for Nair hair-removal cream.

Gaudio and Valli are always looking for new ways to fill their joint coffer. Valli, for example, is trying to launch an acting career. He made a guest appearance on a consideration of the considerat



Frankle Valli, left, and Bob Gaudio look over a tune at a Hollywood studio

"Maybe we should hedge our bets. You get 50% of me, and I get 50% of you.

al, if not unique, in the world of business. Gaudio, 46, is a composer, pianist, arranger and producer who has worked on records with Sinatra, Ross, Diamond, Michael Jackson and Barry Manilow. Valli. 53. is the veteran pop singer whose highpitched voice (a critic once likened it to an air-raid siren) still packs in audiences at basketball arenas, concert halls, nightclubs and casinos. Both men were original members of the Four Seasons, the famed rock group that next month will launch its 25th anniversary concert tour. The dozens of Four Seasons hits, including such Gaudio tunes as Big Girls Don't Cry and Who Loves You, have sold more than 100 million records and tapes.

Though Gaudio stopped performing with the group more than 15 years ago and his career took off on a different course from Valli's, their fortunes have remained intertwined. Reason, they are still partners despite their professional separation, and they split all income—whoever earns it—down the middle. When Gaudio co-produced the music for Manilow's TV special.

only dreaming of hitting it big. At the time, Valis was a barber. Gaudio worked in a printing plant, and the Four Seasons was an unknown group playing our weekends in a well-with the play the

In September 1962 the partnership struck gold when Gaudio's song. Sherry and Valili's shrill vocals put the Four Season on top of the pop world. In 1912 Causes on the partnership structuring with the Four Seasons but continued to produce the group's records and started working with other artists as well. Walli agreed to stay with the Seasons as lead stinger. All the withte, Gritten contract. They have divided well over \$50.

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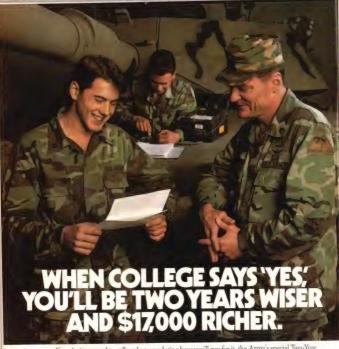
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Business Notes







Alcatraz revelers sig martinis on the rock

A big picture, bound for Broadway

STATE REVENUES

Fighting a Tax On Peacocks

It seemed like a good idea at the time. Looking for a relatively painless way to raise funds Florida Governor Bob Martinez decided to play some creative games with the state's 5% sales tax. Over the voluble protests of many businessmen and lobbyists, he and the Florida legislature expanded the reach of the levy to include many services. Among them: advertising, warehousing and numerous legal, accounting and real estate fees. Last week some fiscal results were in on Martinez's gambit, and they were not good. NBC television announced it was canceling its May 1988 affiliates' convention, scheduled to take place at Orlando's Walt Disney World. in protest over the measure.

The peacock is standing up Mickey Mouse because the expanded tax would include a levy on all network and affiliate advertising carried in Florida. If 7% of a commercial's viewers are in Florida, for example, then the advertiser would be required to pay the state a 5% tax on 7% of the network's fee for running the ad-The network's fee for running the advertisme.

That prospect could lead in more boycotting of Florida's convention spots. A meeting of the American Ad-

vertising Federation will go on next month at Disney World because it is too late to reschedule. But the AAF said it would turn the meeting into a protest rally to urge repeal of the tax.

HABERDASHERY

A Pinch in the Wallet Pocket

The elegantly dressed tailors on London's Savile Row, who cater to customers willing to spend \$1,250 for a custommade suit, at times decide to "take it in a little." But now some fear that their own historic district may soon be subject to alterations that could send it the way of the Nehru jacket. A zoning change before Britain's Environment Secretary would eliminate the distinction between offices and light industry. The tailors fear that once landlords realized they could convert Savile Row's shops from light-industry status into office space. rents would quadruple and many shops in the 140-yearold district would be forced to

The normally quiet tailors, who account for 3,000 jobs and more than \$44 million in annual sales, are not sitting around with their hands in their pockets. Some have written letters to Parliament. Others have asked U.S. customers, who make up 60% of Savile Rows-clientele, to the British embussy.

BRAZII IAN DEBT

Tough Talker Takes a Walk

US hankers may be able to breathe a little easier now, because Dilson Funaro has lost his job. The contentious Brazilian Finance Minister had hoped to pressure foreign banks into drastic concessions on the country's \$108 billion in debts. But last week Funaro. who proved unable to rein in Brazil's runaway economy. was dumped by President José Sarney in favor of the more pragmatic Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira, 52, an economist and businessman. Bresser Pereira promptly devalued Brazil's currency 8.5% against the U.S. dollar in an effort to boost export income, which should improve the country's ability to pay its debts.

ADVERTISING

Putting Byte Into Billboards

Mammoth billboard images of the kind that frequently adorn Manhattan's Times Square have been a frustrating market niche for the \$1.3 billion outdoor advertising industry. The huge, hand-painted icons often take a month to produce, sometimes depict faces inaccurately, and can be aukward to move. But now two California manufacturers have shonia

that turning out big pictures can be child's play. Los Angeles-based Metromedia Technologies uses computers to convert photos or other artwork into billboards up to 17 ft. by \$4 ft. within just six. hours. Another company, Toranice-based Computer Image Some of Liza Minnelli that will rise this week over New York's Palace Theater.

OFFICE PARTIES

Sentence: One Night in Quail

"I'm indicted to see you all here tonight," quipped Pat McBaine, an executive vice president of Hambrecht & Quist, the San Francisco investment firm. His pun had a certain appropriateness. By way of a theme party, McBaine's company had invited some 600 members of the financial community to share in the unique feeling of being an illegal insider trader. Or almost. The guests were transported by boat to Alcatraz, the inactive island penitentiary in San Francisco Bay. There. while 25 actors dressed as convicts and jail guards capered around them, the temporary inmates supped on roast quail with lime sauce and admired the concrete and steel-bar décor. Estimated cost of the bash: about \$100,000 To many, that seemed like something of a crime itself.

People



Play it again, sweetle

Okay, who is it? Jonathan Winters in drag. Wrong. Clara Peller on a good day. Wrong again. Check out those hands. that precision grasp on the glasses. Those are fingers made for fiddlin'. Right, aficionados, the bewigged matron is none other than Itzhak Periman, 41, but only a top violinist would understand the warmth in his dress-up spoofing of Dorothy DeLay. Miss De-Lay, as Perlman and all her students always call her, is one

Stem, 66, too old to have been her student but admirer enough to have won the honor of playing Happy Birthday for her. The audience of violinists exploded in whoops of knowing laughter as Perlman, in his dress and matching scarf, tutored a stream of mediocre pupils. coaxing them with her trademark coos of "sugarplum" and "sweetie. Then the nonpareil string section serenaded her with the unhappily remembered piece. Kreutzer's Etude No. 6. "They thought it was my favorite torture.

says Miss DeLay, smiling. "It was a little like on somebody.

Among the over-the-title egos of the film world, a star whose identity has been deftly submerged into a hundred characters is a rare find. In fact, who else is there besides Alec Guinness? In New York City last week, the Film Society of Lincoln Center and act-



Guinness with friends: starring this time as himself

of the most revered violin teachers in the U.S. To celebrate her 70th birthday. Perlman, who studied with her at Manhattan's Juilliard School of Music for nine years, got 75 of her former pupils to come from around the world for a surprise party. The guests ran from a current prodigy. Midori, 15, through Soloist Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg, 26, to Isaac

ing friends and admirers such as Carrie Fisher, Irene Worth, Glynis Johns and Coral Browne saluted Sir Alec, 73, with 21/2 hours of tributes, reminiscences and clips of his 46 films. from The Ladykillers to Star Wars. (His Fagin in Oliver Twist was omitted at Guinness's request because he says some have found the portrayal anti-Semitic.) The evening was



putting thumbscrews Mia with Woody, 1986: and baby makes eleven

a hard one for the actor. "Alec | challenged. finds it difficult to accept any sort of compliment," observed Sir John Mills. The self-effacing. self-described "elderly English thespian who is almost in a state of catatonic shock" likened the experience of seeing 40 years of his films pass before his eyes to the experience of a man drowning. But he was relieved that the black-andwhite films had not yet been color-washed: "I've been rather dreading The Man in the Puce-Colored Suit or The Mugenta Hill Mob." And he did offer one piece of advice for an actor about to make an entrance: "Blow your nose and check your

fly." Sir Alec, the unremitting pro, had naturally done both before taking the Lincoln Center stage.

"I don't care about heirs," said Woody Allen in April's Esquire magazine. Everybody should stop reproducing for a while and should adopt all the kids that are loose." Allen, 51, did add that his longtime lover and frequent costar Mia Farrow is "gifted at raising kids. I think she's going to get more. It's just something she wants to do." Sooner than Woody realized-and he was part of the plan. This November, the professionally productive twosome announced last week, they are expecting a baby. But where will the child live, her place or his? Farrow, 42, resides in a cavernous apartment on the West Side of Manhattan with her brood of eight: three sons from her marriage to André Previn and five adopted children. Allen maintains his posh digs on Fifth Avenue, right across Central Park. Wherever the new baby settles, the arrival could launch a whole new genre of Woody Allen films. If art imitates life, Bill Cosby's reign on fun-

ny fatherhood could be

In just four hours, working with brushes on cutoff broomsticks and four gallons of Gainsborough Blue paint. Artist David Hockney, 50, brought the bottom of the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel pool to life. The artist then initialed the shallow end of his concrete canvas and left an imprint of his hands. Grauman's Chinesestyle, to be embedded in the surrounding deck. Hockney, who has a home in the nearby Hollywood Hills, often uses shimmering pools in his paintings.

which sell for as much as \$500,000, but this was a gift to the hotel. When it opened in 1927. Greta Garbo, Gloria Swanson, Clara Bow, Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford showed up to celebrate. The Hollywood Boulevard hostelry had fallen into decay in the past 20 years. But thanks to a \$42 million renovation, the magic is back, and a new crowd - Dennis Hopper, Lily Tomlin, Mikhail Baryshnikov, Elton John, Dudley Moore, Burt Reynolds-drops in. Now they will have a pool worth glittering by.



Who put the zigzag in Zog?

Attention, those who enjoyed the guessing game back up in the left-hand corner. Try this tougher picture puzzle, with a military kink. A hint that won't help the officer is not a gentleman. Unrecognizably enough, that is Theresa Russell, 30, in drag, as



the young and agitated King Zog of Albania. Breaking away from her trademark vixen-seductress roles (Black Widow, Bad Timing/ A Sensual Obsession), the actress transvested for a short film segment directed by her husband, Nicolas Roeg, His is one of ten vignettes by different directors that make up a movie called Aria, which will premiere in two weeks at the Cannes Film Festival. For the role of the flinty King. who ruled from 1928 to 1939. Russell copied Prince Charles' regal walk and hand behind the back. "I was lucky I was in uniform; I couldn't wiggle my fanny as much." says Russell, whose breasts were flattened, shoulders and arms broadened with padding, and waist-length hair stuffed under a wig. She had no voice problems because her screen moments were silent. But mimicking male facial muscles proved tricky: "I could feel my face wasn't doing what a man's face would do with the same emotions. Guvs have a lot of problems.

Prince Charles himself and his princess were making news and pictures last week. In fact. it is hard to believe that the British tabloids haven't credited Di with a new Spanish dance, the "Raleigh stomp," Making like Sir Walter, a contingent of students in Salamanca carpeted the ground with their cloaks to smooth Diana's way over the comblestones. But after the royal duo finished their official vis-

it to Spain, they went their separate ways she home to see the kids, he for a painting holiday in Tuscanyand the tabloids went bonkers over the split itinerary. It was the couple's seventh separation this year, counted the tut-tutters. Dishing the royal dirt. the Star ran excerpts from yet another new book, Charles by Journalist Penny Junor, which depicts the prince as a "sad character" who "doesn't have the support he should have from a wife." Rushing to the rescue, a British news agency quoted a royal intimate: "Although they have separate in-



Roiling out the cloaks for Di in Spain: Tut-tut, say the tabs

terests, that does not hurt the marriage in any way." What they really need is a holiday from the forever bickering British tabloids.

As the University of Miami's star quarterback, he often scrambled out of the pocket to launch successful passes. And now success is scrambling into the pockets of Vinny Testaverde. With a Heisman Trophy the highest ever for a player fresh out of school. After a congratulatory handshake from N.F.L. Commissioner Pete Rozelle and a few minutes signing autographs. Testaverde was off and running for a plane to the Buccancers' rookie camp. "Right now I'm just one of the quarterbacks on the roster," said Testaverde modestly, adding that getting picked No. 1 "makes me realize I accomplished one of my



The \$8 million man: Testaverde with Rozelle, left

already tucked away. Testaverde last week completed another big score. To no one's surprise, he was the No. 1 selection in the National Football League's college draft. He and the Tampa Bay Buccaneers had already agreed on a six-year, \$8.2 million contract,

goals and that it's time for Like me to set new ones." bucking up the Bucs. At two wins and 14 losses they were the N.F.L.'s worst team last year. Of course, if they hadn't vanished into last place, they wouldn't have got Vinny in the first place. - By Martha Smileis

Religion





Views of the Evangelical scandals last week: tearful Tamm

Taking Command at Fort Mill

Jim Bakker surfaces, and Jerry Falwell begins his PTL cleanup

A Mightier

Church in America, 5,361,000

members strong, was born

last week in Columbus at a

placid "constituting conven-

tion." The ELCA, an amalgam-

ation of three Lu-

theran churches, will

establish its head-

quarters close to

Chicago's O'Hare

Airport by January.

Before then, some

congregations that

find the FLCA too lib-

eral plan to break

away. (The conser-

Fortress

weary, fallen Televangelist Jim Bakker emerged from his self-imposed seclusion in Palm Springs. Calif., last week. Flanked by Wife Tammy and Son Jamie. 12. the boyish Bakker, once ruler of the \$129 million PTI television and themepark ministry, delivered a message of conciliation ("We will not fight-we don't want to be part of a circus") and seeming acceptance ("Without a miracle of God. we will never minister again").

The Pentecostal preacher, who has been lying doggo since he confessed seven weeks ago to adultery, bristled slightly when discussing new charges of immorality re-

cently leveled against him. "I've never been involved in wife swapping," Bakker asserted. "I'm not a homosexual, and I've never been to a prostitute." He noted that he had only enough money to last "six months at the most," and added almost jauntily, "We have eight or nine million dollars in royalties we never received"

from PTI. Those declarations were made only three days after fellow TV Preacher Jerry Falwell made sure that Bakker would never minister again at his former domain in Fort Mill, S.C. Bakker had relinquished control of PTL (for Praise the Lord or People That Love) to Falwell, a Fundamentalist Baptist, after confessing that he had paid \$265,000 in hush money to cover up his adultery. But

ooking properly contrite and a trifle | prior to last week's board meeting at PTL. Bakker had wired Falwell that it seemed time for a comeback With some of Bakker's followers clam-

oring for his return. Falwell talked openly of walking away from the troublesome mess After some soul-searching, the Lynchburg. Va., preacher took decisive command, declaring that Bakker's "ministry here has ceased" and ordering a thorough housecleaning. The PTI board ended further pay to the Bakkers, who reportedly had drawn an astounding \$4.6 million in compensation since 1984. A royalty arrangement on the books and records that Tammy and Jim produced at PTI will be

negotiated. In addition, the board ousted Bakker's former top aide, Richard Dortch, who had succeeded Bakker as PTI leader and received \$620,000 over the past 15 months. Also sacked: Bakker Aide David Taggart, who had been paid \$710,000 since January 1986.

The board hired new auditors and ordered a full review of compensation. The Bakkers apparently will no longer have use of the residence provided by PII. but they own two comfortable homes elsewhere. PTI is expected to unload the lakefront home near Fort Mill where Dortch lives, along with five resort properties and assorted boats and luxury cars.

Falwell and the board launched an investigation into the new sexual charges against Bakker that had been leveled. without public documentation, by Baptist Televangelist John Ankerberg of Chattanooga, Tenn. Falwell disclosed last week that part of Bakker's hush-money payment was made by PTI and that the remainder was provided by a major PTL contractor, Roe Messner of Wichita. At Dortch's request, Messner then billed PTI. for the sum, but Falwell described that as a mere "error in judgment. To grapple with PTL's growing prob-

lems, the board installed as its new chief operating officer Harry Hargrave. 38. a Presbyterian who is a Dallas investment consultant and specialist in theme parks. Hargrave told the staff that PTL will now emphasize "glorifying God" and "obeying the laws of the land." He faces a signal task, PTI has lavish building plans, a payroll of 2.000 and debts of \$50 million. including \$14.7 million owed to Messner.

Perhaps the worst threat facing PTI is the loss of federal tax exemption. The tax code says that "no part" of an exempt group's earnings should benefit an indi-

vidual. The IRS allows employees reasonable salaries but regularly yanks the ex-emptions of charities that give excessive pay and perks.

Falwell admits that PTL is fighting for its life. "I would be lying to you if I said that members of this board are not concerned about the future of this ministry," he said. He also declared that "arrogance" and lack of accountability among TV ministries had damaged the Christian cause. "This is a confession from Jerry Falwell," he said. We are coming to the painful conclusion that if we are public figures leading Christian ministries, using public monies and contributions, then

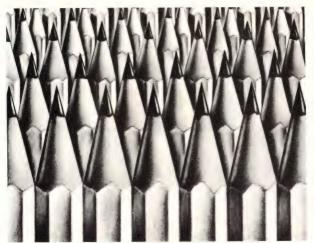
vative Missouri Syn- Chilstrom

od and Wisconsin Synod remain outside the merger.) After 68 nominations and nine ballots, the 1,045 con-The Evangelical Lutheran

vention delegates elected as the ELCA's first national leader Bishop Herbert W. Chilstrom. 55, who heads the Minnesota district of the Lutheran Church in America, one of the merging denominations:

his wife Corinne is a pastor in another. the American Lutheran Church. Chilstrom, who underwent cancer surgery in 1985, says that he intends "to spend a lot of time moving around the country to promote a sense of oneness.

we are publicly responsible. -- Ry Richard N. Ostling, Reported by B. Russell Leavitt/Fort Mill and Michael Riley/Los Angeles



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Environment

Tubers, Berries and Bugs

Scientists release man-made microbes into the environment

ty of Tulelake Calif., scientists in canary vellow overalls clambered aboard a tractor last week and began what looked like a workaday farmyard chore. They were planting ordinary potatoes, 2,000 tubers

in all, that had been treated with an extraordinary additive: a genetically altered bacterium designed to inhibit the formation of frost. This experiment-and a similar one performed only five days earlier-marked a turning point in the efforts of scientists to apply the advances of recombinant DNA technology to agriculture: the first authorized release of man-made microbes into

The routine Tulelake operation stood in marked contrast to the more dramatic previous test, 350 miles away in a Brentwood, Calif., strawberry field. There, technicians wrapped in head-to-foot "space suits"-required by federal regulations govern-

ing airborne use of potentially toxic substances-sprayed 2,400 strawberry plants with a slightly different strain of the same ice-inhibiting bacterium. The event drew a crowd of reporters and government officials, who arrived with elaborate devices to sniff the air and taste the dirt around the test site. The start of the experiment was delayed for an hour because of an act of sabotage: the night before, vandals, apparently expressing their disapproval of the experiment, cut through a chain-link fence and uprooted some 2,000 plants

The uninjured berries were quickly replanted, and the project proceeded without further incident, but the protest was symptomatic of the fierce controversy surrounding the open-air trials. They have become the focal point of a bitter debate over the creation of new organisms and the risks involved in releasing them. Most biologists have argued that the outdoor tests are a necessary first step that may help reduce the \$1.5 billion lost by U.S. farmers each year to frost and may someday lead to the replacement of chemical fertilizers and pesticides with biodegradable, nonpolluting microbes.

Opponents, captained by Washington-based Activist Jeremy Rifkin, have raised legitimate questions about how well these experiments are regulated and

n a dusty half-acre potato patch near monitored. But Rifkin and his supporters the tiny (pop. 1.000) farming communiing the specter of a biotech Chernobylan experiment gone haywire, spreading man-made germs that could ruin crops. change rain patterns and render large swatches of California uninhabitable.

Lindow and associates planting potatoes last week in Tulelake

A turning point in the application of gene-splicing to agriculture

The current experiments, almost everyone agrees, do not pose any such threat. They involve a modest bit of genetic engineering on the bacterium Pseudomonas syringue, a common parasite that lives on the bark and leaves of many plants. The bacterium produces a protein that serves as a seed for the formation of ice crystals when the temperature drops below 32° F. By snipping the seed-making gene from the DNA of the

microbe. Berkeley Plant Pathologists Steven Lindow and Nickolas Panopoulos created a mutant form of P. syringae that does not promote frost. They call their new microbe "ice-minus." In the laboratory, leaves coated with the microbes have briefly withstood tempera-

In 1982 Lindow and Panopoulos applied for permission to treat potatoes with ice-minus. They failed to anticipate Rifkin A former antiwar activist with a fertile imagination and a knack for using the bureaucratic process, Rifkin organized what may be the longest-running regulatory battle ever. One of his victories: a 1984 temporary injunction against Lindow and Panopoulos issued by Federal District Judge John Sirica of Watergate fame.

There have been excesses and lapses on both sides. Rifkin, who makes his living speaking against genetic engineering. sowed fear and doubt among the public even after his supporters had concluded that the experiments were safe. But the scientists have not been blameless. Advanced Genetic Sciences Inc., the Oak-

land-based start-up firm that conducted the strawberry tests, managed to alienate most of California's Monterey County in 1986 when its closely held plans to test the microbes in that area were uncovered by a local newspaper. While that issue was being debated. Rifkin revealed that AGS scientists had already injected mutant bacteria into fruit and nut trees growing on the roof of their Oakland labs-a violation of federal and state regulations. AGS was fined \$13,000 for its transgression.

AGS learned its lesson. This month's experiments were preceded by a well-orchestrated campaign that included public meetings.

mounds of explanatory literature and plant tours for county officials. The final legal hurdle fell the day before the first test. "The court is convinced," said Sacramento Superior Court Judge Darrel Lewis, "that Ithe experiments are not unleashing some deleterious bacteria that are going to consume the city of Brentwood or anywhere else."

It was a setback for opponents of such search, and for Rifkin in particular. But

it does not mean smooth sailing for the genetic engineers. Strict guidelines are now in place, and as long as there are industry watchdogs, every experiment will be closely checked. Rifkin shows no signs of giving up. "We will battle every step of the way," he promised last week "This protest is not going to go away." Lindow, however, the long battle was over. Said he, when the tubers were finally in the ground: "It's quite





Science

COVER STORY

Superconductors!

The startling breakthrough that could change our world

hey began lining up outside the New York Hilton's Sutton Ballroom at 5:30 in the afternoon; by the time the doors opened at 6:45. recalls Physicist Randy Simon, a member of TRW's Space and Technology Group, "it was a little bit frightening. There was a surge forward, and I was in front. I walked into the room, but it wasn't under my own power." Recalls Stanford Physicist William Little: "I've never seen anything like it. Physicists are a fairly quiet lot, so to see them elbowing and fighting each other to get into the room was truly remarkable

Thus began a session of the American Physical Society's annual meeting that was so turbulent, so emotional and so joyous that the prestigious journal Science felt compelled to describe it as a "happening." AT&T Bell Laboratories Physicist Michael Schluter went even further, calling it the "Woodstock of physics." Indeed, at times it resembled a rock concert more than a scientific conference. Three thousand physicists tried to jam themselves into less than half that number of seats set up in the ballroom; the

rest either watched from outside on television monitors or, to the dismay of the local fire marshal, crowded the aisles. For nearly eight hours, until after 3 a.m., the assembled scientists listened intently to one five-minute presentation after another, often cheering the speakers enthusiastically. Many lingered until dawn, eagerly discussing what they had heard and seen

What stirred all the excitement at that tumultuous meeting in March was a discovery that could change the world, a startling breakthrough in achieving an esoteric phenomenon long relegated to the backwaters of science: superconductivity. That discovery, most scientists believe. could lead to incredible savings in energy: trains that speed across the countryside at hundreds of miles per hour on a cushion of magnetism: practical electric cars:

powerful, yet smaller computers and particle accelerators: safer reactors operating on nuclear fusion rather than fission and a host of other rewards still undreamed of. There might even be benefits for the Strategic Defense Initiative, which could draw on efficient, superconductor power sources for its space-based weapons.

Superconductivity is aptly named. It involves a remarkable transition that occurs in many metals when they are cooled to temperatures within several degrees of absolute zero, or, as scientists prefer to designate it. 0 Kelvin. Absolute zero, equivalent to -460° F or -273° C, represents a total absence of heat; it is the coldest temperature conceivable. As the metals approach this frigid limit, they suddenly lose all their electrical resistance and become superconductors. This enables them to carry currents without the loss of any energy and in some cases to generate immensely powerful magnetic fields. Scientists have recognized for years that the implications of this phenomenon could be enormous, but one stubborn obstacle has stood in their way: reaching and maintaining the temperatures necessary for superconductivity in these metals is difficult and in most instances prohibitively expensive.

Now, in a series of rapid-fire discoveries, researchers around the world have begun concocting a different class of materials that become superconductors at significantly higher temperatures-levels



that, while still beyond the reach of a kitchen refrigerator, are easier and less costly to attain. These achievements have had an electrifying effect on a subject that just a year ago would have elicited yawns from physicists and blank stars from poltiticians. Indeed, hardly a week has passed since the New York City meeting without reports from competing scientists—in the popular pressas well as in profess.

conducting materials and ever conducting materials and ever higher temperature ranges. An effect that once could be detected only with sophisticated equipment has become a common sideshow at conferences. a sample of one of the new materials is placed in a dish of liquid mitrogen, and a magnet placed above it. Since superconductors repel magnetic fields, a phenomenon called the Meissner effect, the models:

Fun and games aside, though, the competition is growing more intense. Researchers around the world are canceling vacations, ignoring their families, moving cots into their labs and subsisting on takeout food and microwave popcorn. "We've been working since right after

Christmas," says Physicist J.T. Chen of Wayne State University in Detroit, "We do experiments almost every day. Sometimes we sleep only three or four hours. Maybe it was like this when the transistor was invented, but in my personal experience this is unique." Says Japanese Chemist Kohiji Kishio. "The race is for the Nobel Prize".

The world's leading industrial nations are in a race of another kind. Quick to recognize the commercial potential of the new development, Japan's Ministry of In-

ternational Trade and Industry plans to subsidize private-sector research, and will establish a center in Nagoya to test equipment made from superconducting materials. In Washington, the Department of Energy has decided to double this year's research support for superconductors to \$40 million; it is also compiling a computerized database that will enable Americal



can scientist to keep up to date on fast probading superconductor research results. In the companies a White Hause comference on superconductivity this summer. "It's a monumental subject." subbergey Secretary John Herrington. "It ranks up there with the laser." In the Seanace Minnesson Republican David Durenberger has co-sponsored a bill calling on the President to form a national commission to coordinate superconductivity research and development. Says Durenbersearch and development. Says DurenberJapan targets another industry for industrial supremacy." Last week the National Science Foundation announced \$1.6 million in grants to help keep the U.S. com-

petitive in superconductivity research.

The superlatives roll in. "In terms of the societal impact, this could well be the breakthrough of the 1980s in the sense that the transistor was the breakthrough

of the 1950s," says Alan Schriesheim, director of Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago. Indeed, scientists hardly know where to start in describing the bonanza that superconductors could yield.

Take the transmission of electricity, for example. As much as 20% of the energy sent through high-tension lines is now lost in the form of heat generated as the current encounters resistance in the copper wire. If the electricity could be sent through superconducting cable, however, not a kilowatt-second of energy would be lost, thus saving the utilities, and presumably consumers, billions of dollars. Furthermore, at least in theory, all of a large city's electrical energy needs could be supplied through a handful of underground cables.

Elimination of heat caused by electrical resistance could have a profound effect on the design and perform a mane of computers. In their efforts on produce smaller and fister computers, under consultation of the country of the coun



nal fans to dissipate the heat. Now, with practical superconducting circuitry on the horizon, computer designers may soon see the way clear for even more remarkable miniaturization.

In still other applications, the intense magnetic fields that might someday be generated by the new superconductors should benefit any device that new uses electromagnetism in its operation—medical diagnostic imaging machines, magnetically levitated trains, fusion-energy generators—and will undoubledly spawn a host of new machines. Electric motors could increase in power and shrink in size.

But these are just the most obvious examples. Scientist like Robert Schrieffer, who shared the 1972 Nobel Prize in Physics for the first successful theory of how superconductivity works, believe its most occur, and the superconductivity works, believe its most occur, which is the superconductivity works, believe its most occur, which is the superconductivity works, believe its most occur, which would some the superconductivity works, when we have the first invented, we know they of replace tubes, Schrieffer says, "But no one had any idea there would someday be large-scale integrated circuits." Robert Clava of Bell Labs agrees. "We don't know where this will agree "We don't know where this will be superconductive the superconductive the

From the time that Dutch Physicist Heike Kamerlingh Onnes discovered superconductivity in 1911 until the recent rash of breakthroughs, there was only one way to produce the phenomenon: by bathing the appropriate metals-and later. certain metallic alloys-in liquid helium. This exotic substance is produced by lowering the temperature of rare and costly helium gas to 4.2 K (-452' F), at which point it liquefies. But the process is expensive and requires considerable energy. Furthermore, unless the liquid helium is tightly sealed in a heavily insulated container, it quickly warms and vaporizes away. Thus the practical use of superconductors has been limited to a few devices-an experimental Jap-

anese magnetically levitated train, a few giant particle accelerators and medicine's magnetic-resonance imaging machines—that operate with intense magnetic fields.

But in the past year and a half physicists have stumbled on an unusual class of ceramic compounds that change everything. They too must be cooled to become superconductors, but only to a temperature of 98 K (-283° F). And that suddenly brings superconductivity into the range of the practical: liquid helium can be replaced as a coolant by liquid nitrogen, which makes the transition from a gas at the easily produced temperature of 77 K (-320° F). Moreover, liquid nitrogen is cheaper by the quart than milk and so longlasting that scientists carry it around in ordinary thermos



bottles. Also, the ceramics may be able to generate even more intense magnetic fields than metallic superconductors. Thus, if these new substances can be turned into practical devices—and most scientists believe they can—technology will be transformed. Declares Arno Penias, vice president for research at field superconductivity are almost without comparison."

Success and celebrity have been a long time in coming to the field of super-conductivity. "Until recently," says John Ketterson, a physicist at Northwestern University." people were glum. There hadn't been a breakthrough in a long time. Funding was drying up. This has sent everyone back into the field with a new burst of enthusiasm." Although Kar.

merlingh Onnes envisioned early on that his discovery might pave the way for extremely powerful; compact electromagnets, he and other experimenters were stymied by a strange phenomenon; as soon as enough current was flowing through the then known superconductors (fleed, tin and mercury; among others) to generate significant magnetic fields, the metals lost their superconductives.

t was not until the 1950s that scientists discovered alloys, such as niobium tin and niobium titanium, that keep their superconductivity in the presence of intensely strong magnetic fields. And it was not until the '60s and '70s that the manufacture of large superconducting magnets became standardized. But progress toward the other goal of superconductivity researchers, pushing the phenomenon into a practical temperature range, was even slower. By 1973, some 62 years after Kamerlingh Onnes had found superconductivity in mercury at 4.2 K. scientists had upped the temperature to only 23 K. using an alloy of niobium and germanium. After 1973: no improvement.

That was the situation in 1983 when Karl Alex Müller, a physicist at the IBM Zurich Research Laboratory in Switzerland, decided to pursue an approach to superconductivity that had met with limited success in the past. Instead of using the kind of metallic alloys that held the existing record, he turned his attention to the metallic oxides (compounds of metals and oxygen) known as ceramics. Some theorists had suggested ceramics as potential superconductors even though they were poor conductors at room temperatures. In fact, ceramics are often used as insulatorsfor example, on high-voltage electrictransmission lines.

Müller and his colleague, Johannes Georg Bednorz, tinkered with hundreds

of different oxide compounds over the next few years, varying quantities and ingredients like alchemists in search of the philosopher's stone. Finally, in December 1985, they came across a compound of barium. lanthanum, copper and oxygen that seemed promising. When Bednorz tested the compound, he was startled to see signs of superconductivity at an unprecedented 35 K. by far the highest temperature at which anyone had observed the phenomenon. Could this result be correct? Aware of some hastily made superconductivity claims that later could not be reproduced. the IBM team proceeded cautiously, painstakingly repeating their experiments. In April 1986, Müller and Bednorz finally submitted

the findings to the German

journal Zeitschrift für Phy-



INSULATOR In materials with extremely high resistance, such as rubber or glass, electrons are tightly bound to atoms and cannot be jostled loose to sustain a flow of current.

CONDUCTOR In materials with lower resistance, some electrons are

loosely bound and form a current when voltage is applied. Resistance is a measure of the energy lost in the form of heat from electron collisions.

SUPERCONDUCTOR When materials become superconductive, all resistance disappears because electrons are bound into pairs, which move in step with each other, avoiding collisions. Current flows with no energy loss.

sik, which published it five months later. As Müller had anticipated, other physicists were skeptical. For one thing, the IBM scientists had lacked the sensitive equipment to test for the Meissner effect, the surest proof of superconductivity, and thus could not confirm it in their report. More important, in a field where improvements of a few degrees were reason for celebration, this great a temperature leap seemed unlikely. Douglas Finnemore, a physicist at Iowa State University, admits that he was among the doubters. "Our group read the paper," he says. "We held a meeting and decided there was nothing to it."

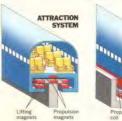
Not everyone was so quick to dismiss the discovery. Scientists from the University of Tokyo took a look at the substance. Says Müller: "The Japanese weren't smiling, and they confirmed it. Then the United States sat up." By the end of the year confirmation had come from China and the U.S., and suddenly a nearly moribund branch of physics was the hottest thing around. Large industrial and government laboratories jumped in; so did major universities. At Bell Labs, a team led by Bertram Batlogg and Ceramist Cava had launched their own program of alchemical tinkering. Soon they had manufactured a similar compound that became a superconductor at 38 K, one-upping their archrivals at IBM. "That's when the hysteria started," says Cava. "The place was abuzz with excitement."

But Bell Labs too was soon to be upstaged. For among those who had given early credence to the news from Zurich was a small, modestly equipped team of researchers headed by Paul C.W. Chu of the University of Houston. Chu had been studying superconductivity since 1965: now he and his group, including scientists more than the properties of the proposed proposed the HM results and moved on to their own experiments.

ince the Houston lab had special equipment for testing materials at high pressure. Chu wondered what would happen if he pressurized the IBM compound. "Using known theories," he says, "you don't expect the transition temperature to go up rapidly under pressure, but it shot up like a rocket. It suggested to us that there might be some new mechanism involved." unexpected result, says Chu, played right into what he considers his group's strong suit: "We feel we have an advantage over some other groups because we are not confined to conventional thinking. We think wildly." Chu found that the compound remained a superconductor up to 52 K (-366° F) when subjected to from 10.000 to 12.000 times normal atmospher-

Forcing the pressure higher than that had no effect it was time for more wild thinking. Chu reasoned that the high pressure worked because it aguashed the compound's molecular structure and that this somehow boosted its superconducting temperature. Since more pressure did no

Trains That Can Levitate





One item is on everyone's list of potential benefits of high-temperature superconductors: maghes, or magnetically levitated superfast trains. It is a safe prediction, since the new materials give promise of electromagnets far more powerful and economical than those in use today. And it is the electromagnet that lifts and propels existing magles in Japan, West Germany and Britain.

As long ago as 1979 an unmanned Japan Railways Group prototype fitted with low-temperature superconducting electromagnets bit 321 m.p.h. on a test track: a version carrying three passengers made it to 249 m.p.h. earlier this year. That beats any conventional rival, including Japan's celebrated bullet train, which goes as fast as 149 m.p.h. and the French Tox-which provides the world's

fastest regularly scheduled rail service, at speeds of up to 186 m.p.h.

Japan's maglev is faster because instead of pounding along a set of rails, it
floats four inches above a guideway on a cushion of magnetic force; there is no
friction to slow it down, no fear of derailment on a section of bent track. This
maglev has wheels, but the only times it uses them are while picking up speed be-

fore lift-off and while slowing down after landing. The principle behind the magile is simple opposite magnetic poles attract each other like poles repel. In Japan's version, eight superconducting electromagnets are built into the sides of each train car, and thousands of metal colisare set into the floor of the guideway. When the train is in modio, the electromagnets become electromagnets. As power is increased, the opposing sets of magnets re-

pel each other and lift the train into the air. Two other rows of electromagnets, one on each wall of the U-shaped guidoway, repeatedly reverse polarity to push or pull on the coach's magnets and thus move the train forward.

In planning the train, Japanese engineers chose superconducting magnets because for a given injust of electricity they generate more intense magnetic fields and thus greater lifting and propulsion power—than conventional electromagnets. The drawback: the liquid—helium coolant needed for the superconducting magnets is expensive, and a heavy compressor is required in each coach to reliulely the evaporating helium. That is why maglev engineers are excited by the idea of the new high-temperature superconductors, which would use considerably less expensive liquid nitrogen as a coolant and require far smaller compressors. The developments of the past few months; says Research Chief Kazuo Sawada who has been in on the project from the beatining, area "promissing sistendi."

In West Germany, on the other hand, the new superconductors are of little interest to malgive engineers, who handoned superconducting magness in 1979. They opted to use conventional electromagnest instead. The German system is based on magnetic attraction, and repulsion. The magnets are on usesmblies attached to the cars' undercarriages that curve around and under the crossbar of a Tshapped track. When the magnets are energized, they pull themselves up toward the crossbar's metallic underside and the car is lifted into the air; magnets in the track provide propulsion. Which telephique is better? Both thwa advantages. The German maglev is simpler and less expensive to operate. But so far the Japanese trains are about 100 m ph. faster.

TIME, MAY 11, 1987

good, Chu decided to compress the molecules in a different way-from within. He replaced the barium with strontium, which is similar chemically but has a smaller atomic structure. Sure enough, the temperature rose again, to 54 K, then stopped. So he turned to calcium, an element with even smaller atoms. This time the temperature dropped. It appeared to be a dead end.

Now Chu's team tried lanthanum, the rare-earth* component of the IBM compound. Maw-Kuen Wu. head of the team's Alabama unit and a former graduate student of Chu's, replaced the lanthanum with another rare-earth element, yttrium.

The new substance showed so much promise Pioneers Bednorz and Muller in their Zurich lab that Chu filed a patent application on Jan. 12. That

promise was soon fulfilled. At the end of the month, after subjecting their creation to a series of heat and chemical treatments. Wu and his assistants began chilling a bit of the compound, by dousing it with liquid nitrogen, and sending an electric current through it. To their amazement, the sample's resistance began to drop sharply at a towering and so pervous that our hands were shaking. At first we were suspicious that it was an error." But a few days later he and Chu duplicated the feat in Houston and even bettered it by 5°

*The so-called rare earths, a group of 17 chemical elements, are not rare at all, yttrium, for example, is thought to be more abundant than lead. These elements were mislabeled because they were first



John Bardeen explaining his theory



They got a skeptical reaction from other physicists.

The accomplishment of Chu and his team did nothing to dampen their competitors' enthusiasm. Indeed, the effect was just the reverse. In order to protect his patent. Chu refused to disclose the exact composition of his new material before

the formal report was published in the March 2 Physical Review Letters, but other scientists thought they could easily guess its makeup and went to work.

t the University of Illinois, Physieist Donald Ginsberg raced out to buy an air mattress and an alarm clock, anticipating a spate of allnighters. At IBM's Almaden Research Center in San Jose, scientists successfully duplicated the compound, analyzed its crystal structure and passed the information on to the company's labs in Yorktown Heights, N.Y., where their colleagues were able to make thin films of the substance literally overnight. At the University of California. Berkeley, a group that included Theoretical Physicist Marvin Cohen, who had been among those predicting superconductivity in the oxides two decades ago. reproduced the 98 K record, then started trying to beat it. "I'm a standard American scientist." says Cohen. "My definition of research is to discover the secrets of nature-before anyone else.

In short, says Douglas Scalapino, of the University of California at Santa Barbara, recent developments are something like the breaking of the four-minute mile. Beforehand, it had been considered nearly impossible; afterward, "you could go to any track meet and some guy was breaking it." The activity, says Cava, "is more exciting than a supernova. Astrophysicists can watch it, but when it happens, it happens and it's gone. In superconductivity, the events are still going on, and the physics is just beginning to pour in

So are the scientific papers. Says Metallurgist Frank Fradin. director of Argonne's materials science division, who is also an associate editor of Physical Review Letters: "As of three weeks ago, we had 98 papers submitted on the subject, and only a small fraction of them will ever get published. Progress is so rapid that a result of two to three weeks ago is already out of date. We've had to institute a whole new system to speed up the publication process." One important discovery: at least a dozen different compounds, all subtly different from the one Chu found, appear to act as high-temperature superconductors

While scientists know the chemical composition of the new class of superconductors, they are less certain about how they work. True. a theory exists that explains low-temperature superconductivity. It is known as BCS.

from the initials of Author John Bardeen and his colleagues Leon Cooper and Robert Schrieffer, who shared the 1972 Nobel Prize for Physics for their effort. But BCS may not apply to the strange goings-on at

higher temperatures. Ordinary conductivity, the measure of a material's ability to transmit electrical current, is determined by events that take place at the atomic level. Atoms consist of a tiny dense nucleus that contains positively charged protons and chargeless neutrons. Around the nucleus whirl the negatively charged electrons, residing in shells with shapes determined by the elec-

trons' energy levels. In many atoms, particularly those of metallic conductors, the outer shell has a number of empty slots, and the electrons that it does contain are not bound as tight-



Paul Chu with a flask of liquid nitrogen

ly to it as those in the inner shells. Just as the sun's gravitational pull is weaker on distant Pluto than on nearby Mercury, the hold of an atomic nucleus is also weaker on electrons in the outermost layers.

So when an electric current-which is simply a stream of moving electronsflows in a conductor, electrons move from empty slot to empty slot in the outer shells of the atoms. A material like rubber, on the other hand, is an insulator: it consists largely of atoms with completely filled, stable outer shells. Thus when voltage is applied, electrons have no empty slots to move into, and no current flows

But even the best of ordinary conductors have some resistance to the flow of electrical current. The reason: as current passes through, some of the electrons collide with other electrons, thus dissipating their energy in the form of heat. Accord-

ing to the BCS theory, these collisions are avoided in su-"What perconductivity. causes a material to become superconducting is a phase change." explains Bardeen, now a professor emeritus at the University of Illinois. "You can think of it as electrons condensing into a new state." That state involves the pairing of electrons and a kind of group discipline.

Iowa's Finnemore con pares the movement of the electrons in a superconductor to a crowd moving across a football field. "If they act as individual particles," he explains, "they will bump into each other and scatter. That's the equivalent of electrical resistance. But suppose someone starts counting cadence, and everyone locks arms and marches in step. Then even if one person falls into a chuckhole, he won't fall because his neighbors hold him up.

unhindered While the BCS theory works well near absolute zero, some physicists think it will have to be modified or even scrapped as an explanation for the behavior of highertemperature superconductors. According to Bardeen, his theory can explain superconductivity up to around 40 K. But at 90 K. he says, "I think it's highly unlikely. We no doubt are going to need a new mechanism." In fact, says Schrieffer, "superconductivity may turn out to have as many causes as the common cold.

Confusion at the level of theory has put no damper on the orgy of speculation about potential applications. Some ideas involve upgrading existing superconducting technology; others push marginal technology into the realm of the profitable: still others raise the prospect of entirely new uses of the phenomenon

*The most familiar example of a phase change is the transformation, at 32° F, of water from a fluid into

get for possible upgrading. Currently the most powerful such devices use conventional superconducting electromagnets. If high-temperature superconducting magnets can be developed, millions of dollars could annually be saved in electrical and liquid-helium bills

Giant particle accelerators are one tar-

Electromagnets are also crucial to fusion energy, which depends on fusing atoms (the same process that powers the sun), rather than splitting them. Key to one promising fusion process, which is under development in several countries, is a "bottle" composed not of any material substance but of powerful magnetic fields, generated at great expense by conventional electromagnets. Such fields are the only envelopes that can contain and squeeze atoms together at the hundred-million-degree temperature required to initiate

Magnetic-resonance cross section of soft tissues in an adult's head Smaller, less expensive, more powerful medical imaging machines.

Thus in a superconductor electrons move | fusion. But superconducting magnets, especially warm-temperature ones, could produce more intense fields at less expense and thus could "help make fusion power possible and practical," says Harold Furth. director of Princeton University's Plasma Physics Laboratory.

> n medicine, superconducting magnets are at the heart of magnetic resonanceimaging machines. The magnets' powerful fields first align the atoms of the body. Then a pulse of radio waves knocks them momentarily out of alignment. When the atoms return to their previous attitudes. they emit radiation that produces detailed images of the body's soft tissues. MRI machines in use today are enormous (6 ft. by 8 ft by 10 ft.), largely because of the more than \$100,000 worth of bulky insulation required to preserve the liquid helium coolant, which costs an additional \$30,000 annually. The improved economics of the new superconductors, says Walter Robb, of General Electric's Research and Develop

ment Center, should eventually enable medical institutions to install many more MRI machines which are invaluable for diagnosing disorders like brain tumors

High-temperature superconducting magnets may become important in the magley, or magnetically levitated, trains under development in Japan and West Germany. And scientists at Japan's Mercantile Marine University in Kobe have already developed a working scale model of a ship with a propulsion system based on magnetism. Physicist Yoshiro Saji sends current through the seawater from an onboard electric generator via ship-bottom electrodes. A superconducting magnet, also on board, creates a strong magnetic field. As the electromagnetic field produced by the electric current pushes against the field of the magnet, the ship moves forward. Saji has already moved up

his timetable and hopes to complete a 100-ton "magship" within four years. "Thanks to the new materihe says, "magnets will be lighter and easier to handle. Once we can replace liquid helium with liquid nitrogen, the whole process of outfitting the ship will be

simplified. It's a fantastic development.

On a smaller scale, superconductors have already been used to create superfast electronic switches called Josephson junctions (after Nobel Laureate Brian Josephson, the British physicist who discovered the principle on which they are based), which until now could operate only at liquid-helium temperatures. For both technical and economic reasons. IBM abandoned its Josephson junction project in 1983. But IBM Physicist Sadeg Faris quit the company, ob-

tained licenses for the technology and formed Hypres, Inc., which has begun marketing its first Josephson junction product-a high-speed oscilloscope. Says Faris: "The new materials are at a primitive stage, but we're anxious to exploit them to bring down costs and improve speed." Since switches are a limiting factor in computer speed, an economical Josephson junction could prove invaluable. At Westinghouse, scientists are work-

ing on the idea of using superconductors for electric-power production. Today's nonsuperconducting generators produce electricity by spinning wire-wrapped rotors in a magnetic field; their output is typically some 300 megawatts a generator. If the field were generated even by conventional superconducting electromagnets, says Research Director John Hulm, the output could be doubled. The benefits would be even greater with high-temperature superconductors.

And then there are the daydreams: giant underground loops of superconduct-

SSC: Lord of the Rings

When President Reagan formally endorsed the superconducting supercollider (sc) last January, it seemed likely that the \$44 billion, 53-milecircumference particle accelerator would be completed on schedule in 1996. But the rocent breakthroughs in superconductivity have raised some questions about the 10,000 powerful magnets needed to keep streams of protons on course as they speed around the huge ring.

Should See designers move ahead with plans to use conventional, lowtemperature superconducting magnets, known quantities that are already in place and operating at Fermilab's Tevatron accelerator in Batavia, Ill.? Or should they hold off indefinitely, awaiting development of the new hight-temperature superconducting variety, which may someday be able to generate even

stronger magnetic fields at less cost?

Some scientists, particularly those opposed to the ssc for other reasons, have expressed concern that the rapid developments in superconductivity could warrant a rodesign of the accelerator. "I might be possible to shrink the radius down to ten miles," says Cornell Physicist James Krumhansl, president-elect of the American Physical Society. "What I say is, let's put the matter into one more

year of research and development and review it next year."

Still, it is not at all certain that the new cramic superconductors will ever be capable of carrying the high electric currents necessary for generating strong magnetic fields. And no one has yet flashioned the inherently brittle material into a wire flexible enough to be wound into effective coils, though many research groups have reported progress. Says Burton Richter, director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center. "It took 25 years to turn the present superconductors from a laboratory curiosity into something that could be made into miles of cable.

These are even more difficult materials to work with.

Leon Lederman director of Fermilah, agrees. "Even if, miracle of miracles in the next, we will the poblems of britleness and high current," and the received the problems of britleness and high current, "enough to mike good magnets. A superconducting accelerator magnet is a Swiss watch of precision." One problem: superconducting magnetic fields are so strong they can actually deform the accelerator magnets that produce them. While physicists have learned to deal with that phenomenon at Fermilab, they have no idea how to handle fields that could be many times as strong.

Proponents of delay, Lederman charges, are more concerned about the tremendous cost of the SSC, which they think will siphon federal funds away from other branches of science: "They see the new superconductors as a weapon with

which to slay the SSC."

Krumhansl excludes himself from that category. "It would be wrong to say I'm against the SSC." he says. "It's great scientifically. In fact, it's mind blowing. The problem is that over the past five years there has been a slow starvation of what I call 'small science." I spood shape, and then by

all means proceed with the SSC.



electricity for later use, cars that run on inty, powerful electric motors, drawing, current from superconducting storage devices. But even the daydreams are taken at least somewhat seriously. At Ford, forsumple, a study group hat been assent to rethink the feasibility output hat been assent ductivity. Says IBM Physicist John Baglin. "The question is not 'How can we take this material and do something, everyone has wanted to do?" but 'How can we do something that no one has yet imagined?" Some tongue-in-check suggestions overheard at a superconductor meeting superheard at a superconductor meeting super-

ing cable that can store vast amounts of

conducting ballroom floors and rinks that would enable dancers and skaters literally to float through their motions.

All the applications, though, depend on bringing the technology out of the lab, and despite the bubbly confidence of many scientists, obstacles remain. One is the need to form the new materials into usable shapes. While metals bend, anyone who has dropped a dinner plate knows that ceramics do not. And a flexible material has a big advantage over a brittle one if it is to he coiled around an electromagnet. Says Osamu Horigami, chief researcher at Toshiha's Energy Science and Technology Laboratory: "To get a magnet or coil or even a wire we could use with complete confidence could take another five years." Agrees Hulm: "It will take extraordinary engineering to solve the brittleness prob-

BM scientists may already have a partial answer, they announced last week that the new compounds can be "spraypainted" onto complex forms, where they solidify. Says IBM Scientist Jerome Comon, who described the technique at the American Ceramic Society conference in Pittsburgh. "This opens the door wider than ever to the fabrication of useful obciests made of superconducting materials."

More fundamental is the fact that while the new ceramics remain superconductors at high temperatures and can withstand intense magnetic fields, they can as yet carry only about a hundredth of the current capacity for conventional superentering the control of the control termines its strength, scientistis are concerned that a quick fix may not be in sight. Warns GER robb. "What we need now is a second invention that would much if copper oxides to allow high currentlyfly chance that second invention will ever be made."

Finally, there is a human problem that could hinder progress in the suddenly vigorous field of superconductivity, the increasing unwillingness of scientists to exchange information about their experiments. At the Woodstock of physics meeting, for example, some were miffed when Stanford researchers, following when Stanford researchers, following the control of their research; they had been advised by pattent attorneys to reveal



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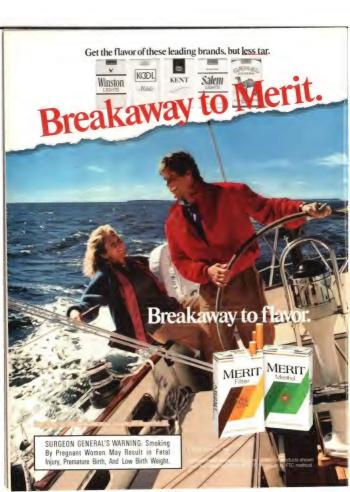
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Science

as little as possible until their work was legally protected. The competition extends beyond legal rights. Two weeks after Chus record-breaking temperature was amounced, the Berkeley team independancing compound. They immediately mailed a report of their results to Physics Letters, hoping it would be received before Chu's paper was published. Reason.

Still, there are hints that some of the physical barriers, at least, are starting to fall. At the March meeting, scientists were already showing rings and flexible tapes made of high-temperature superconductors; by the end of the month, teams at IBM. Bell Labs. Toshiba. Argonne and a handful of other places were developing wire-thin ceramic rods. Says Toshiba's Horigami: "We weren't even sure this was possible. When we finally had a wire that could potentially be coiled, there was absolutely no way to measure our sense of triumph." Argonne Ceramist Roger Poeppel now talks of building a furnace ten feet long to fire his group's wire almost continuously as it is extruded. "We think it will be flexible enough to twist into cable." he says, "and cable is the building block for magnetic coils and electrical transmission lines. With two miles of wire, we'll make a superconducting magnet. To get a practical device is now the

ater, in April, scientists at Stanford and IBM announced that they had made thin films of the new substances, important for then shifted to IBM Researchers Robert Laibowitz and Roger Koch, who reported that they had made their own thin film into a working gadget called a SQUID (for superconducting quantum interference device). Such tools are already used in low-temperature versions to measure extremely faint magnetic fields. They are also employed by physicists in the search for elusive gravity waves and magnetic monopoles, predicted by some theories but not yet observed. Medical researchers use SQUIDs to detect the minute fields generated by electrical activity within the brain. High-temperature SQUIDs should make all these searches a little easier

Other scientists are seeking a better understanding of why the ceramics become superconductors. Many labs have taken pictures of the materials with electron microscopes, pulsed beams of neutrons. X rays and ultrasound. A team of Bell Labs and Artzona State scientists has produced electron-microscope photographs that show defects in the compounds crystalline structure. Says Team to the product of the product



the perfect material that is superconducting? Or is it the defects? If it turns out that it is the defects, then we will want to control them and increase their density and put them in intentionally."

Moss intriguing of all are reports that the temperature record set by Chu and since matched by dozens of other researchers has already been surpassed. Some physicists have even reported suppresenductivity—at the form of the superconductivity—at the form the highs of 240 K, or -27°F, which is warmer than many wintry nights in North Dakota.

Those results suggest an intriguing possibility. Says Bell Labs' Penzias: "Transition temperatures have increased by a factor of four in the past year. If temperatures are raised by another factor of four in the same period of time, we'll have

room-temperature superconductors in less than a year." Adds IBM's Praveen Chaudhari: "All the mental barriers are gone. No one is asking how high it will go anymore." If room-temperature superconductivity is achieved, whether in a year or in a score of years, its impact will be incalculable. The need for refrigerators and insulation, even for liquid nitrogen, will be gone. And the costs of this still futuristic technology could drop more dramatically than anyone expects. Says IBM's Paul "We're looking. Everyone is. Adds IBM's William Gallagher: "We shouldn't let our imaginations be constrained by things we now know about. We're just not able to imagine the things you can do." - By Michael D. Lemonick. Reported by Thomas McCarroll/New York, J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago and Dennis Wyss/ San Francisco

Education

The Posse Stops a "Softie"

Scientists blackball a political theorist

n a December issue, Science magazine likened Yale Mathematician Serge Lang, a proud and contentious member of the august National Academy of Sciences. to a "sheriff of scholarship, leading a posse of academics on a hunt for error." Last week the sheriff rode again. At the NAS annual meeting in its imposing marble headquarters in Washington, the normally stately proceedings were shattered by an acrimonious debate in which Lang led a successful drive to refuse membership to a distinguished Harvard political scientist: Samuel P. Huntington, director of Harvard's Center for International Affairs and president of the American Political Science Association

1.500-member NAS, essentially an honor society that doubles as policy adviser to the Federal Government, rarely have the incumbents barred so weighty a nominee as Huntington. The main objection ruised by the zealous Lang and his supporters: an allegedly specious use of mathematics in Huntington's work to quantify unquanti-

Though entry comes hard to the



fiable material. For example, Lung-citesa passage in the best-known of Hunting-tion's doven books. Political Order in Changing Societies, in which the ratio of aspiration to satisfaction was examined in 62 countries. The overall correlation between the control of the countries of the countries of the countries. The overall correlation between the countries of t

Beyond such charges, what really seemed at issue was a long-standing tension in U.S. academic circles between two groups-physical, or "hard," scientists such as chemists, physicists and biologists, whose work traces cause-effect relationships and lends itself to mathematical proofs, and social, or "soft," scientists such as sociologists, psychologists and political scientists, whose work involves speculation about human motives and mixes subjective evaluation with fact. A political scientist for example, cannot prove mathematically that Hitler's political regime was an inevitable consequence of Germany's post-World War I disarray, but he can make a pretty good Nevertheless, claim hard-liners,



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softies often resort to equations and logarithmic curves to try to prove such points. thereby not only confusing their own issues but also traducine the methods of

Another component in Huntington's rejection seems to have been his political loyalties, though Lang denies this. A conservative. Huntington has consulted with the Pentagon, served on the National Se-

curity Council. supported the Viet Nam War and done research underwritten by the CIA-all anathema in the liberal-leaning world of academe

In the Washington debates. Huntington drew some vehement support, particularly among the NAS's 177 social scientists, who have been admitted since membership criteria were widened 16 years ago to provide a broader social context for counsel to the Government. One social-scientist member said in a speech. "His work is quite impressive, and he is a very fine scholar and a good scientist." After the vote, Huntington defended equations in his writings as "simply a way of summing up a complicated argument." He added, "Good Lord, any good social scientist knows the things he studies are constantly changing, full of exceptions and contradictions. People are more difficult to study than atoms.

Several NAS members faulted Lang.

59, for violating the traditional probity of the academy's proceedings. Says Nobel Laureate Herbert Simon, professor of computer science and psychology at Carnegie-Mellon University (and a Huntington backer): "In my 20 years in the acade my. I've never seen a member who felt it necessary to start such a public fracas. Since winning a postponement of Huntington's initial 1986 nomination. Lang has fired off three anti-Huntington mailings to the full membership. "Just imagine," says NAS Member Julian Wolpert, professor of geography at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and In-

ternational Affairs, "if we could get all that letter-writing energy into a campaign against Gaddafi. say, or for human rights. I wish he'd pick his causes better.

Nevertheless, at least a third of the 527 members meeting in Washington (the proportion needed to bar an election) seem to have been swayed by Lang's underlying argument that social scientists, however eminent, may not belong to the NAS and perhaps should form an academy of their own. Says one physical scientist: "It's not enough to be excellent. One has to meet the norms of science as well." But that view

leaves wide open the question

of who, inside the NAS

or out, ought to define those

norms -- By Ezra Bowen. Re-

ported by Robert Alemian/Boston

A New Kind Of Tiger

"The people of Princeton are going to have a lot of work to remarked University of Michigan Regent Thomas Roach last week. His comment came on hearing that Michigan

President Harold Shapiro, renowned for his 15-hour workdays, would succeed William Bowen next January as Princeton's 18th president. An economist by (Ph.D., training Princeton '64) and a genial if demanding manager by reputa-



minority enrollment and a richer core curriculum as general concerns. His first task, says Shapiro, is to listen to students. faculty and alumni. He adds. "I hope I will get wiser as I begin to develop ideas with the faculty and others.

tion. Shapiro. 51, lifted Michi-

gan in seven years from finan-

cial crisis to a prosperous

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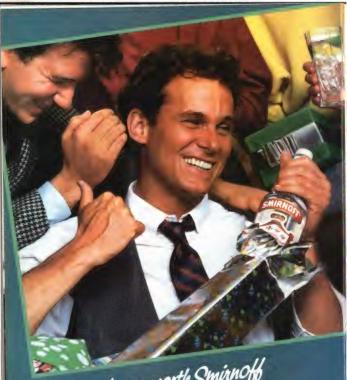
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Living

The Whole World **Goes Pandas**

Two Chinese ambassadors receive cheers in the Bronx

e had good news for New Yorkers. Mayor Edward Koch said last week: taxes were being reduced, and the police department was being enlarged. "But the single thing people will care about." he added. "is that the pandas have come to town." How right he was. Last Thursday morning, as a gong was sounded and a comely female named Yong Yong waddled into her enclosure at the Bronx Zoo. New York City was gripped with that wellknown but incurable fever pandamania

WELCOME TO NEW YORK PANDAS said a handmade sign held up by one of several dozen waiting schoolchildren. HELLO, LING LING AND YONG YONG, said another. And even more to the point: NEW YORK IS THE PANDAS! Refore Line Ling (Ringing Bell), the male half of the team, and Yong Yong (Forever and Ever) go home at the end of October-they are on loan from the Peking Zoo for only six months-an estimated 2 million people (2,000 an hour) will have seen and no doubt fallen in love with them. "There's something special about pandas," says Koch. "They bring people back to their childhood."

Even the meanest people, those who kick dogs, throw bottles at cats and step on robins' eggs, get teary-eyed and puttylegged when they see a panda rolling around on its ample posterior, twisting its puffy body into a seemingly impossible position, or eating an apple-nothing more exotic than an apple!-with its handlike paw. "I can't think of any animal that compares," says William Conway, director of the New York Zoological Society. "People love penguins, but the interest in pandas is extraordinary. There appears to be an innate response of. 'Oh. isn't it cute?"

At the seven zoos outside China in

idence, pandas are always the ton act. If the adults cause a stir. their babies cause chaos. When Tokyo's Ueno Zoo had a blessed event last year, 270,000 people suggested names for the little cub. Tong Tong (Child) was the eventual choice, and 13,000 stood in line for the first glimpse of that particular child. Another 200,000 a day called the "Dial-a-Panda" hot line to hear him squealing.

In Washington, the only U.S. city that has pandas on



permanent exhibit, schoolchildren send them yearly valentines. When the female (also named Ling Ling) fell ill in 1982, she received thousands of get-well cards: some admirers tearfully called for the latest word on her condition. China lent a pair to the Los Angeles Zoo in conjunction with the 1984 Olympics; attendance more than doubled, and pandamaniacs endured three-hour waits. San Francisco's zoo, where the couple went next, saw attendance jump 50%

But Ling Ling, Yong Yong and the other actors in what might be called China's Traveling Panda Act-two more will be lent to the Netherlands' Beekse Bergen park this month-are meant to do more than entertain. Pandas also carry a message: they are an endangered species with a bleak future. Only a few, 700 or so, still roam the mountains of central China, and there are not enough in zoos to ensure their survival

ike most other endangered species, the pandas are a victim of what Conway terms the "inexorable increase in human beings." Chinese farmers have chopped down many of the bamboo stands that once fed them, and the pandas have been forced to ever higher ground and smaller spaces. But bamboo is not very nutritious (90% is water), and pandas must eat as much as 40 lbs. a day to maintain their cuddly look. Actually, they love meat, but nature has made them too slow to catch which they have taken up permanent res- anything worth nibbling on. So they are

left with bamboo, which moves only with the wind

The hapless animals are also bedeviled by what many other species-rabbits. for instance-would consider an unhappy sex life. Solitary by nature, they rarely enjoy one another's company. During their stay in New York, for instance, Ling Ling, who at 11/2 is too young for mating anyway will never be allowed out at the same time as the six-year-old, heavier (187 lbs., vs. 119 lbs.) and presumably more aggres-

sive Yong Yong.

One answer to the pandas' plight is obvious: the Chinese should give them more space and more bamboo. In recent years the Chinese, with considerable financial help from panda lovers worldwide, have tried to do that. They have set aside twelve reserves that have different varieties of bamboo: if one



Ling Ling

kind dies out, the pandas will not starve to death, as at least 138 did during a maior bamboo famine in the mid-'70s. Indeed, Conway, whose 700 has taken a lead in preserving endangered species. gives the Chinese high marks. "They're spending more effort on pandas than the U.S. is on grizzly bears, which are even rarer in the Lower 48 states." he says. "They're an example to us.

But high marks may not be good enough. Unless reserves are made larger, he says, and connected so that their denizens can move from one to another, "the demise of the panda is predictable." He adds, "There are probably fewer pandas extant than there are Rembrandts. We ought to give them at least as much reverence as we give the works of man." The crowds cheering them on at the Bronx Zoo last week seemed to be doing just that. - By Gerald Clarke



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Helm's Night Window, 1986: refined craft conjoined with a post-Magrittean sensibility

Navigating a Cultural Trough

For a change, the Whitney Biennial is not too bad

The Whitney Biennial, the show critics tand others love to he, is here again. Its significance as an event lies in the fact significance as an event lies in the fact rent American art regularly held by a US of Marcian Art in New York City. Hence the American Art in New York City. Hence given the absurgly overcrowded art world of the late 30b, with thousands of artistic given the absurgly overcrowded art world of the late 30b, with thousands of artistic and artistic pollution of more than 200 can artist population of more than 200 can artist population of more than 200 can artist population of more than 200 cities much the same passions as the salon exhibitions of the faller 190 heremup.

In the process, its power as a trendsetter is always overestimated. The 1985 Bienniail was laden with East Village, postangfillik kitsch by Kenny Schaff and others—gaudy ephemerids who, instead of gaing on to further heights of success as a result of their inchesion, have shrived in into the Whitney in the first place. Undoubtedly, 1985 marked the nadir of the Bienniail's requisition; it was the worst in

memory The 1987 version is in some ways among the best. One contemplated its arrival with glumness and rancor, and one was wrong. It is still a show with marked ideological prejudices. Clearly, the Whitney curators resist realist painting, and their promotion of media-based conceptual imagery over more directly pictorial forms of intelligence verges on intellectual snobbery (for example, Richard Prince's boringly generic reflections on photo reproduction, or Bruce Nauman's neon pieces, or Barbara Kruger's snootily virtuous samplers bearing such commonplaces as

I SIMOP THEREFORE I AMB BUT on one could accuse it of the air-headdeness that marked its immediate predecessor. This is a tighter, more conservative Biennial, attentive to the internal rhymes of current and to the cross relations between attentive to the internal rhymes of current sists. What we have is an Alexandrian faillable—as sense of the basically academic nature of most "advanced" American art. in recoil from making by gardels of the recoil from making by gardels of the country of the coun

with art lans.

The scene cools and contracts. The show records a long-due disenchantment with the lumpy theority of necespression-through the cool of the cool of

enormous mural, which looks like a vastly inflated Frank Stella made of patio furniture. But at least the stage props of Deep Authenticity are less wears/owney/apparent in this show than they used to be. The sound of breaking plates is distant, like the hunter's horn in Graeffer though Julian horn of the plate of th

Predictably, in view of the vast hype and flurry over it last fall, the "neo-geo" work of Peter Halley, Jeff Koons and Philip Taaffe is heavily represented. Yet it looks circumspect, almost prim, for all its polemical blatancy-art that gets its theoretical ducks in a line but cannot come up with a genuinely engrossing idea or any feeling deeper than self-satisfaction. The one exception to this is Koons' Rubbit, 1986, a glittering stainless-steel cast of an inflatable dime-store bunny, indubitably awful in the mocking pedantry with which squishiness is transposed into hard, heavy metal. As a one-liner it is not bad at all, though it hardly deserves to be treated-as Koons' sculpture seems to be in some quarters-as the biggest subject for exegesis since Jasper Johns' bronze beer cans. His floating basketballs in tanks of water are just high school science projects and have no aesthetic dimension. Halley's abstracts, which look like simplified Picabias based on computer chips and bear tough pseudo engineering titles like Two Cells with Circulating Conduit, 1985, are coarse late minimalism, pictorially inert to the max. Maybe collectors get scared into submission by the post-structural art jargon in which they come wrapped.

The pleasures of the show, however, are very distinct. Though sculpture once more plays second fiddle to painting it is a pity that, to take one name almost at random, the beautifully intelligent work of Joel Fisher was not included), there are new and disquieting marble carvings by and two facilitating pieces by Robert Lobe, and two facilitating pieces by Robert Lobe Lobe's initial idea seems fairly dotty to go ut into the forest with aluminum sheets.



A rectangle of sky attains purity and brilliance in Jenney's Atmosphere, 1975-85

look for a large rook and a tree, and then ball-peen and panel-beat the metal until it conforms in shape and texture to the natural objects beneath. The tarnished silverygray "presences" that result, such as Facial Structure, 1986, are huge and haunting, as though the immobile landscape had shed its skin like a molting snake.

Equally vivid and subtle reactions to nature in this Biennial's paintings are uncommon. One may as well pass in silence over the only painted nudes on view, in an archly pederastic illustration by David McDermott and Peter McGough titled Three Boys ... Rub-a-Dub-Dub One Tub. 1937, 1986. Donald Sultan's laboriously processed streetscapes with smokestacks and burning buildings now look vacantly stylish a mere shuffling of emblems. But Terry Winters, whose work provided one of the few moments of genuine aesthetic relief in the 1985 Biennial, is well represented again with his creamily painted images of spores and fossils; and there are some intriguing works by a relative newcomer from the state of Washington, Robert Helm, who conjoins a post-Magrittean sensibility to an extreme refinement of craft. One needs to look twice before realizing that the posts and bridge planks that support the sinister bullterrier in Helm's Night Window, 1986, are real inlaid wood and not trompe-l'oeil painting.

Best of all, there are two admirable pieces by Neil Jenney, Jenney's essential subject is the perilous balance and impending decay of the sense of "sublime" land-scape that lies at the heart of American reactions to nature. He can give a rectangle of sky, as in Almosphere, 1975-85, such purity and brilliance of light that you wonder



Lobe's haunting Facial Structure, 1986

if there are striplights concealed in the heavy black frame. (There are not.) In Venus, from North America. 1979-87, he assembles a set of visual nouns for American landscape—water, fallen tree, bultushes, rocks, notch of hills, feathery slats of cloud—that beautifully evoke the world of the American luminists while conveying an oracular sense of its vulnerability.

In sum, one could not call this a particularly controversial show. But that is a relief, and it is good to see the Biennial back on some kind of track. — By Robort Hughes

Theater



Black-widow-spider courtship: Duncan as a mailign marquise, Rickman as a highborn roué

A Roundelay of Deadly Conquests

LES LIAISONS DANGEREUSES by Christopher Hampton

ove is not an easy game to play, particularly when the jousters cannot decide whether they seek passion or dispassion, rapturous attachment or jaded detachment. In the megalomaniacal gambitry of Les Liaisons Dangereuses, a glittering epistolary novel by Choderlos de Laclos set on the eve of revolution in 18th century France, the only thing more dangerous than a seducer's assailing a person of virtue is the seducer's somehow falling in love: the conflict between the rakehell's manipulative pride and his newly vulnerable passion ignites everything in its path, leaving him and his partners burned-out husks, dead or wishing they were. A novel of letters is not easily transmuted into a cinematic montage of stage action. Yet Les Liaisons has been adapted into an equally brilliant and witty tragedy of manners by Christopher Hampton (The Philanthropist, Total Eclipse) for Britain's Royal Shakespeare Company. The R.S.C. staging, which won the 1986 Olivier award for best play, the West End's equivalent of the Tony, has been imported in-

tact. Last week it set Broadway ablaze. From the first glimpse the show speaks in portents. The chief piece of furniture is a preposterously tall highboy, its drawers spilling out cloth and papers and ropes of pearls just as the characters are about to spill out secrets, its surface appearing as unvarnished as the truths to come. Every character with a sexual life is dressed in some variation of off-whiteand looks cool, stylish and slightly soiled. Two ornate sofas are shrouded with crumpled, much used sheets: this is a world of ceaseless, unsatisfying copulation. Although the sides of the stage are heaped with the bric-a-brac of elegancecandelabra, statuary, flowers—the characters seem more at home with simple louvered screens, behind which they peep and cavesdrop. The dialogue is fittingly brittle and epigrammatic. "When it comes to marriage." a much traveled woman says, "one man is as good as the next; and even the least accommodating is less trouble than a mother.

The central figures in this roundelay are a bewitchingly malign marquise (Lindsay Duncan), a good woman tempted to self-betrayal by love (Suzanne Burden), a virgin eager to surrender to ecstasy (Beatie Edney) and the highborn roue who is their sequential wooer (Alan Rickman). The essence of the roue's sexual appeal is a chilly, offhand disinterest. Neither kind nor attentive nor particularly virile, he does not so much inspire devotion as command it: he does not so much arouse ardor as compel his victims to confront their suppressed sexuality. He believes all virtue is fraud, and he delights in destroying women by making them believe so too. He has only one love, the marquise, and she is less a companion than a rival. Rickman and Duncan are at once captivating and appalling. Theirs is a black-widow-spider courting ritual of conquests and abrupt abandonments.

But these creatures are not immune to their own venom. Howard Davies' direction, unobtrusive until the marquise declares war on her erstwhile sparring partner. fills the play's final minutes with haze and glare and in ereits. solw-motion duel. The end brings wholly unanticipation is no comforting afterglew of justice or even vengeance—only the acrid residue of wanton agony. —By Williams, Alway W.

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Books

Among Marvelous Ants and Bees

PRIVATE DOMAIN by Paul Taylor; Knopf; 371 pages; \$22.95

Paul Taylor burst upon the dance world in 1957, but not quite in the way he had hoped. At 27 he was a member of Martha Graham's troupe and already experimenting on his own. Specifically he was trying to strip away the "dancerly" elements in the modern style, to get down to the basics. He and his hardworking group of three performed the results at the YM-YWHA in Manhattan, and a few weeks later Louis Horst in the influential Dance Observer weighed in with the definitive review: four inches of blank space followed by the author's initials.

Thirty years later the master choreographer still glowers in behalf of the novice he once was: "The review wasn't even very long," he fumes. But the showman in Tayfor is able to put it in perspective. "There

is," he remembers, "what no amount of paid advertising could have brought-immediate notoriety." The two coexisting reactions-of the egocentric artist and the canny producer-reveal a true man of the theater, and in Private Domain Taylor has written one of the best and most candid theater books to appear in a long time.

There have been several dance autobiographies recently, many of them extolling or punishing George Balanchine along the way, but none is as intelligent or funny or shrewd as this one. Taylor's insights on fellow artists-Graham, Balanchine, Robert Rauschenberg-are unusually trenchant and fresh. The book is blessedly free of the cleaned-up quality that such memoirs often have, which inevitably makes the childhood chapters the only interesting, trustworthy ones. Talk about warts and all! For readers who want to hear about pressures and strains on the professional dancer-the drugs, the drink, the penury-they are all here, far more eloquently stated than in the lurid confessions of Gelsey Kirkland's Dancing on My Grave.

Today Taylor is probably America's greatest living choreographer. He has received most of the major awards, including a Mac-Arthur "genius grant." He has a town house in Greenwich Village. But before the adulation and creature comforts came decades of very hard scrambling. He was born near Pittsburgh in the depths of the Depression, and his parents separated when he was a small boy. Mama was too busy managing hotel dining rooms to spend much time with her son. Still, he recalls, "I don't remember ever being lonely-I had health, privacy, and a mother I was wild about." Early on he recognized the "beautiful curse" of solitude. "the one without which I doubt all other patterns would have grown.

Taylor discovered his vocation while at Syracuse on a swimming scholarship. It came as an inexplicable flash, "telling me that I'm to become a dancer-not any old dancer, but one of the best." The flash was tardy: college is dangerously late to start serious dance training. But Taylor worked on technique, pushing his "instrument" as modern dancers like to call their bodies-ruthlessly, and he was soon studying with the likes of Graham and José Limon Graham became a powerful influence. Much to Taylor's approval, she called her instrument the "bodaah." and he was transfixed by her witchy pronouncements

and "oracular eyes.

From Balanchine to Merce Cunningham, choreographers invited Taylor to join their groups. For six years he danced mostly with Graham but in 1961 went on his own for good. A foe of ballet's artifice, he was inspired by the city's population: They are standing, squatting, sitting everywhere like maryelous ants or bees, and their moves and stillnesses are ABCs that if given a proper format could define dance in a new way." Now his privations really began, and he records them with deep feeling and baleful gusto. Home was usually a wretched flat, cold water or no water. One chapter starts off with "snow sifting gently through the roof." In extre-

mis he ate dog food.

Most of all he toured. If every choreographer's dream is a company of his own. the frustration of touring is the exhausting price to be paid. Heaven knows the beautiful curse of solitude is lifted. There are six seats on the train for seven weary bodaahs, Curtains, stagehands, producers are all nonfunctioning. Taylor is terrified that he won't have enough money to pay for tickets home. He constantly feels insufficient as a leader and fearful that his dancers are bumptious slobs. He even cuts one of his men's hair at an airport. The dancers give as good as they get. At one acrimonious dinner in Spoleto, Italy, they accuse him of cheating at cards. He is appalled. Yet they are loyal: no Taylor dancer ever departs to join a rival company, and one gain comes out of all the strife: "onstage togetherness-a tribal unity that all audiences notice right off."

Taylor says he has never hired a dancer who did not appeal to "something warm" inside him. But there are frosty spots: Bettie de Jong ("picture a lovely reed dancing") is closest to him, but at times his feelings for her "are like a furry noose which slowly tightens around my neck He admires the young Twyla Tharp's "magnificent" ambi-



Keep away, keep building your creaky fairy castles, keep cloning clones and meaningless manners, hang on to your beanstalk ballerinas and their midget male shadows, run yourself out of business with your froufrou and costly clattery toe shoes that ruin all chances for illusions of lightness, keep on crowding the minds of balletomanes who prefer dainty poses to the eloquent strength of momentum.



Performing with Eileen Cropley in Churchyard (1969)





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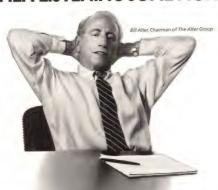
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tion, but simmers when she disparages his work to London critics. With what must be unprecedented honesty he says he gave Dan Wagoner little solos in Aureole to keep him interested without handing him a fat part, Wagoner, Tharp, Senta Driver and Laura Dean all left Taylor to start successful troupes of their own. He is rueful: "They look to me for direction-want tugs from their puppeteer boss-and then snip the strings ... competing with the great guy who first hired them. The nerve of it!

Over the years the repertory builds, becoming more varied and more lyrical: State Department tours replace the busand-truck forays. At home Taylor's life becomes intertwined with that of a deaf-mute. George Wilson, whom he befriended in the '50s and who stays on, living nearby and helping out. About a few matters Taylor can be irritatingly coy, and one of them is sex As a youth he could not decide whether he favored males or females ("Let's just say that I preferred to be on top"), so he sought out Graham for counsel. She told him to stop worrying about it. A few years later, after glimpsing a beautiful young man while on tour in Sri Lanka, he turned to homosexuality. But he continued to have affairs with women, always griping about the shortcomings of either arrangement. Nonetheless, through the tantrums a saving wit always comes in the rescue. After one dark rumination he cries. "What's a gender to do"

Private Domain ends in 1974, the year Taylor stopped dancing. Though the last pages are upbeat-starting work on the exultant Esplanade-they are preceded by a remorseless account of physical and emotional breakdown. The trouble began when Taylor started gulping

Dexamyl, a combination of amphetamine and tranquilizer, not knowing that it was addictive (Dexamyl has since been taken off the market). In 1968 he disappeared from a tour and spent a nightmare week in Liverpool, drunk, debauched, close to death, a Walpur-

gisnacht pitilessly described. A few years later his ankle, often injured, was ruined. He had ulcers. Finally he collapsed onstage in Brooklyn and came down with hepatitis. His performing career

The Paul Taylor Dance Company, 18 strong these days, is now presenting a repertory in New York City that demonstrates the vast resources of this protean figure. Soon two young dancers, David Parsons and Douglas Wright, will snip their puppet strings and try to become the Paul Taylors of the '90s. They had better read this book, not only for a preview of the pitfalls ahead, but also for an insight into the nonartistic qualities that just might come in handy: guts, humor and, above all, stamina. By Martha Duffy

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A HISTORY OF THE JEWS by Paul Johnson Harper & Row; 644 pages; \$25

Paul Johnson balefully examined the 20th century in Modern Times (1983). What he found in the barbaric follies of the nation-state and the quack logic of Marxism and fascism was a desecration of the rational tradition he now celebrates in A History of the Jews. Johnson navigates from a fixed position: that the People of the Book reasoned their way to monotheism and so invented Western thought. A thirst for first causes and a moral universe led to ethics and law that the Hebrews codified and refined in the Torah and the Talmud.

The sages were not always consistent Johnson points out that while Yahweh. God of Abraham and Moses, was physically unimaginable, Jewish humanism is centered on a vivid Old Testament injunction: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the

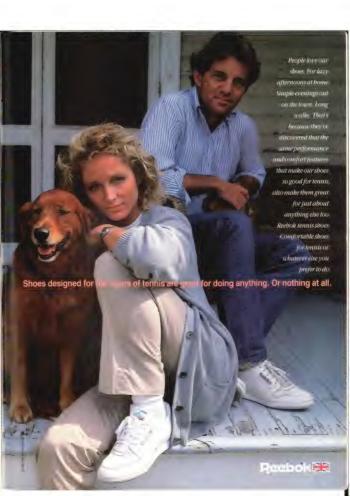
image of God made he man. So from the beginning this "legal-

minded people" had something to argue about, although they did agree about their origins. Johnson sifts the archaeological record and concludes, as does Genesis, that Abraham the patriarch came from Ur. a Sumerian city excavated in the 1920s and believed to have flourished in the fourth and third millenniums B.C. Such corroborations of ancient texts by modern scholars suit the author's purpose, which is to condense legend and fact into a flowing historical narrative

The drama of this 4,000-year story springs from what Johnson identifies as "Jewish obstinacy," the ability to persevere through centuries of persecution and assimilation. He recounts the history of Hebron where Abraham bought land from Ephron the Hittite. He describes how the first piece of Jewish real estate has been fought over and occupied countless times, most recently by Israel after the Six-Day War, and asks, "Where are all those peoples which once held the place?" His answer: "They have vanished into time, irrevocably. But the Jews are still in Hebron.

Though tempted, Johnson is not completely seduced by the attractions of mystical determinism, the idea that Jewish experience from the Covenant through the Diaspora, the Holocaust and the Return is the expression of providential design. "We are." he writes, "credulous creatures, born to believe, and equipped with powerful imaginations which readily produce and rearrange data to suit any transcendental scheme." Abundant evidence in proffered, from lewish false messiahs to Aryan delusions of racial supremacy

But skepticism also leaves the author unmoved. A British journalist and former editor of the New Statesman, Johnson seems to have had a bellyful of bland uncertainty. Besides, the feverish riddles of Ezekiel and the prophetic agonies of Job





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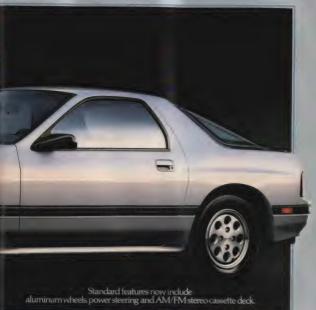


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Books

make better copy than the Tractatus of Spinoza. Johnson singles out the 17th century philosopher as the sort of non-Jewish Jew who sacrifices the soul of rationalism to cold logic. He quotes Soviet Writer Isaac Babel's self-mocking definition of a Jewish intellectual ("a man with spectacles on his nose and autumn in his heart") and brands Marx and Freud pseu-

do scientists Johnson is more impressive as a journalist than as a polemicist. He has digested and organized a staggering amount of complex information without neglecting the an-

ecdotes and tidbits that revive a reader's attention span. The word Hebrew, for example, is believed to have been derived from the ancient Egyptian Habiru, a derisive name for a group that often made its living as itinerant



Johnson would like to think so. But as a Christian, he heads for an existential exit: "The Jews believed they were a special people with such unanimity and passion, and over so long a span, that they became one.

A visit to the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem should dispel any doubt. There you can practically put your nose into fragments of the oldest known biblical writings. The letters have flickered across the parchment for more than 2,000 years yet can be read today by any Israeli fifthgrader. That these small, dark tongues of fire remain unextinguished should astonish Jew. non-Jew and non-Jewish Jew -By R.Z. Shropard

Examples

SKINNY ISLAND by Louis Auchineloss Houghton Mifflin: 230 pages: \$17.95

uthor Louis Auchincloss has produced author Louis Adelinicion. an impressive amount in anyone's case but even more so for a Wall Street lawyer, recently retired. who writes in his spare time. This productivity has been devoted primarily to variations on a central theme: the manners and mores of well-to-do New Yorkers, not restricted to the fabled 400 of old Manhattan society but not much exceeding a few thousand either. There are those who think this subject was pretty well exhausted by the time Henry James and Edith Wharton got through with it. Others argue that portraits of the genteel rich are beside the point in this century of the common man. Yet Auchincloss. 69, periodically turns out a book so sparkling and assured as to render such complaints irrelevant

Skinny Island: More Tales of Manhatran offers one of those occasions. The subtitle harks back to an earlier collection. Tales of Manhattan (1967), but the twelve stories assembled here need no prior introductions. The book is a self-contained progression in time: the first story, A Diary of Old New York, occurs in 1875, and the last. The Takeover, sometime in the 1980s, perhaps yesterday. The pieces are not just connected chronologically and geographically but by a common concern as well: the dilemma faced by comfortable people when they must choose between honor and expediency.

In The Wedding Guest, for example, a turn-of-the-century young man named Griswold Norrie looks forward to his nuptials with the rich, beautiful Ione Carruthers: "He and Ione between them would be connected by blood or marriage to every family that counted in Manhattan society!" The only impediment is Griswold's determination to invite Atalanta. his paternal grandfather's widow, to the festivities. Because of her uncertain past and the general belief that she married an old man for his fortune, this woman simply cannot be received by people who matter. Griswold can have either his integrity or his bride. His potential mother-in-law tries to explain things to him: "Society is not just a question of dressing up and giving parties. It is a question of setting a moral example for the whole community

Auchincloss gently mocks such pretensions, but he takes seriously those people who try to live by the rules. Times may change; strictures remain for the fortunate few. No Friend

Like a New Friend is set in the early 1960s. Frances Hamill, widow of an eminent lawyer. banker and adviser to Presidents, finds herself at a dinner party seated next to Manners Mabon, a

short, fat, charming bachelor with no visible means Louis Au of support. Before long, the matron and the dilettante are seen together constantly at art galleries

and museums. People begin to talk, and Frances receives a painful reproof from her old friend Alice: "I thought it was important how we appeared to the world ... It's not that what's inside isn't more important. Of course it is. But I thought you and I believed that our outward selves should reflect, as far as possible, the things we stand for

All of Auchincloss's characters must struggle with this problem, one so hopelessly old-fashioned as to seem brand new. His graceful, straightforward narratives, so conventional in form, convey a rare impression: people behaving as if their actions meant something beyond the swamp -By Paul Gray of ego and the self



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Music

"That Road Is All Mine"

From a rough start, Little Steven shapes a fine record

t depends on what you call him. That's what tells Steven Van Zandt how long you've been a fan.

Admittedly, the flurry of nicknames, second names and stage names can get a bit confusing, especially since Van Zandt is the kind of rock star people just enjoy shouting out to. Walking around Times Square ("my office"), near his home base

in Manhatian, he cuis a striking figure in fringed leather, high boots and a trademark bandanna wrapped around his head, an urban swashbuckler whose frigate just got towed away for double parking. "Hey, Miamil" yell a couple of citizens cruising by in a Chevy convertible. He waves and shouts back as the car runs a light at Broadway. "Miami." Van Zandt sighs. "That means they still know me from Bruce."

That also means they have not heard his new album yet. But after May 15, when Freedom—No Compromise is released by Manhattan Records, any confusion will be banished. Until then, some lingering uncertainty is understandable. Frustrating, maybe, but understandable.

Van Zandt, after all, did spend a mative and formidable nine years as Miami Steve, the driving force and antic soul man of Bruce Springsteen's E Street Band. His guitar was the band's bedrock, and his harmonies with Springsteen were communions of friendship with the audience and with Bruce. He was at Springsteen's side during the first days of major glory in the mid-'70s, when stardom broke so heavily, and he was there for the years of uncertainty and renewed triumph that followed. Van Zandt did some outside record producing during that time too, calling himself Sugar Miami Steve on one of his albums for Southside Johnny and the Asbury Jukes. By the time he officially left Springsteen in 1984, he had taken another name. Little Steven, and was trying to stand in his own light. Bruce,

Van Zandt had helped produce three of Springsteen's hotets-selling albums. Tunes he wrote for the Jules and Gary U.S. Bonds, like Daddy's Come Home. showed high-end gifts for songeriting, even though he insists. "I hat eal in ballads, including my own." Still, it was innossist be to flourish on his own and hang in with the gang. "I fall," he says. "a more than the still be something than the says of the says of

however, cast a heavy shadow

ven album, released in 1982, was a New York song cycle about hard life on the city streets. The songs were fervent, and the Disciples of Soul blasted behind Van Zandt like a garage band concertizing on top of a pizza oven. Voice of America, released in 1984, was a startling change-up, an album full of impassioned and informed political songs. Neither record

Itte Steven: call his by his rightful game.

Little Steven: call him by his rightful name Bearing down hard but still boogying.

sold well, though. It took Sun City for Van Zandt to get a little commercial territory he could call his own.

Sum City was not only the boldest political anthem of the '80s, it was also the funkiest. Besides writing the song. Van Zandt was the main man behind the album. the video and the documentary about. Sum City, which brought hard rock together with hard facts about South Afrimonth of the Comptonies of the Comptonies and the Comptonies of the Comptonies of the manist ideology and high steppin. "The incikest part is not to be rhetorical." Van Zandt says. "but to make the songs into an emotional, human communication." The new allium features another wise and song about Surfa. Arrisa. Persons and song about Afrisa. Persons with a lovely chomes in Zulu that transa lates. "Life is for living—life is ours." We will not wait—we dance forward." Life this song. Freedom.—No Compromise has a more spacious sound. "I produced the allown the way I would produce somebody else. Van Zandt says." I seepped away done most of my life. "Van Zandt says. "I seepped away the seep of the seep o

guest star named Springsteen). Van Zandt has made a political record that does not stint on passion, does not let up on the conscience and does not speechify, either. It bears down hard as it boogies, but it does

not weigh heavy

'I wasn't active in the '60s," Little Steven, 36, says now. "I was just trying to make a living, fighting to get the rent paid. I was fighting my own war, because rock 'n' roll was not a take-it-for-granted business. It was a real long shot making ends meet." Born in Boston and raised on the New Jersey Shore. Van Zandt gigged in a series of bar bands with names like Steel Mill, which is where he first played with Springsteen. The music was lively, but the living was dodgy. After some gentle advice from his stepfather. Van Zandt took a highway-construction job. It was bruising all-weather work, but the 'pay was phenomenal! Six dollars an hour! We repayed the Jersey Turnpike and practically built Route 287. That road is all mine.

The job lasted until a weekend football buddy announced he was putting a band together to tour the holdies circuit. Van Zand enlisted holdies circuit in Au Zand enlisted was "Sound man. light man, it ruck driver and piano player." Truck driver and piano player. That band became the wellspring of the Asbury Jukes, which formed. Asbury Jukes, which formed with the properties of the well-budden and the properties of the prope

form band fellowship that was, in his words, a "sort of family foundation."

Van Zandt is still strong on family itse. He and his wife Maureen frequently drive down from Manhattan to check out of the folks at the Jersey Shore, and to the folks of the Jersey Shore, and to still from common from the strong of the maste comes in out its from common from the strong of the st

When You Go From Cutting Figure Eights To Cutting Deals.



When they were cutting figures in U.S. Pairs Competition, they drew raves for their style. Now that JoJo Starbuck and Ken Shelley have a show back home on Broadway, paired up in business, nothing's changed. Their new production company, 'The Skate Source', has gained accolades from L.A. to D.C. by providing everything from ice-skating showgirls to entire ice-skating shows.

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M R

Sport

Days of Wine and Bloody Noses

A worthy jockey, trainer and (maybe) horse win the Derby

The "most exciting two min-utes in sports" ran over this year by more than three seconds. But Alvsheba and Bet Twice bumped and bobbled enough in the homestretch to make last week's garden-variety Kentucky Derby richly exciting. And every party to Alysheba's three-quarter-length victory had estimable charm

Both Jockey Chris McCarron. 32. and Trainer Jack Van Berg, 50, are accomplished men who lacked only racing's crowning credit. McCarron felt blessed to be on any horse in any race. Last October he broke his leg four ways in a fearsome crack-up at Santa Anita, and when Alysheba commenced clipping Bet Twice's heels with three-sixteenths of a mile to go. the rider looked sure to take an- After nearly going down, Alysheba drives for the finish line other fall. "I thought I was gone," he said. Somehow McCarron was

still astride and suddenly even ahead "C'mon. wire," he prayed "Quick.

Van Berg is a second-generation "king of the claimers," whose father Marion lived by the dry motto "We make our living out of other people's mistakes." In pure numbers of victories, the son has logged eight national training championships, including in 1986. But of late the cheaper achievements have meant less to him than the classic challenges. Van Berg wept last week for his special horse and



for his late father. "There's no feeling in the world," he murmured, "like winning the Kentucky Derby."

Bloodlines ran everywhere in the race. Owner Dorothy Scharbauer and her husband Clarence have for the most part been cattle ranchers in Midland, Texas. But her father Fred Turner Jr. was a devout horse lover who had Derby Winner Tomy Lee (Bill Shoemaker's old friend) in 1959. Another return to glory amounted to an end to laughter: the breeder of Alysheba is Preston Madden of Lexington's Hamburg Place the hors d'oeuvres center of the bluegrass. During the first 25 years of this century. John E. Madden was known as the "wizard of the turf." He bred five Derby winners, including Sir Barton. But the

grandson Preston and his flamboyant wife Anita have been famed solely as champion party throwers. This year's bash howled as usual, but the door prize the next afternoon was a little dignity restored

Alydar felt better too. Alysheba's renowned sire, the only horse ever to finish second in all of the Triple Crown races. stands at leafy Calumet not 50 feet from his old tormentor Affirmed. Guess whose sexual favors are worth \$350,000 and who has trouble looking whom in the eye now. The bay colt Alysheba, 8-1 in the Derby, is an honest horse but has a hard time keeping to a straight course. In the Blue Grass Stakes nine days earlier, Alysheba finished first but was demoted for swerving in the stretch. Deep thinkers who drop in on this sport once a year fretted for his

confidence all week until Van Berg gently pointed out. "He doesn't know he was disqualified. He thinks he won the race.

The 2-1 favorite. Demons Begone. came home with a bloody nose and a heavy heart in an ambulance. A field horse, Avies Copy, finished third. The best or the most stubborn of them will reconnoiter next week at the Preakness. Then Belmont Specialist Woody Stephens should have someone fresh waiting for the last mile and a half. The season has started. - By Tom Callahan

Milestones

BORN. To Debra Winger, 31. feisty, soulful actress (An Officer and a Gentleman, Terms of Endearment, Black Widow), and her husband. Timothy Hutton, 26, Oscarwinning actor (Ordinary People): their first child, a son; in Los Angeles. Name: Emanuel Noah, Weight: 8 lbs. 11 oz.

EXPECTING, Kathleen Turner, 32, vampish. smoky-voiced actress (Body Heat, Romancing the Stone. Peggy Sue Got Married), and her husband. New York City Realtor Jay Weiss, 32: their first child.

MARRIED. Henry Anatole Grunwald, 64. editor-in-chief of Time Inc.: and Louise Melhado, 45. socially prominent New York City businesswoman; he for the second time, she for the third; in Manhattan.

SEEKING DIVORCE. Steve Wozniak, 36. electronics wunderkind who with Steve Jobs founded Apple Computer in a California garage twelve years ago, then left to start an electronics firm; and Candice Wozniak, 32. a former world-champion white-water kayaker; after six years of marriage, two children; in San Jose.

GUILTY PLEA. By Terrence P. Jackson, 44. formerly Silas Trim Bissell, charged with possessing an unregistered destructive device. A student radical accused of attempting to bomb a Reserve Officers Training Corps building at the University of Washington in 1970 to protest the Viet Nam War, he took a new name and escaped arrest for 17 years before being seized in Eugene. Ore., last January

DIED. Ronnie DeSillers, 7. płucky youngster born with defective liver ducts who had received three liver transplants (all of which failed) and was awaiting a possible fourth: at Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh. His classmates in Fort Lauderdale had raised \$4,000 to help pay for his first operation. but the money was stolen from the school. resulting in a nationwide donation drive inspired by President Reagan (who sent a letter and \$1,000) that netted more than \$400,000. Said Maria DeSillers of her son: "He kept on fighting."

DIED. Gus Johnson, 48. muscular. flamboyant former National Basketball Association star forward for the Baltimore (now Washington) Bullets between 1963 and 1972, best known for his backboard-shattering dunk shots and gravity-defying leaps: of brain cancer: in Akron.

DIED. Xavier Fourcade, 60. energetic. gentlemanly dealer in contemporary art whose Manhattan gallery represented such painters as Willem de Kooning, Joan Mitchell. Arshile Gorky. Barnett Newman and John Chamberlain; of pneumonia linked to AIDS: in New York City.

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Essay

Was He Normal? Human? Poor Humanity

By Elie Wiesel

The author, winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, was 15 years old when the Nazis entered his hometoom of Sighet, Hungary, in 1944. Miraculously he managed to survive the death camps of Auschwitz and Buchenwald, and at was 'each be became a pour nalist in Paris. He would not speak out about the unspeakable for ten years. When that self-imposed wow of silence ended, he destined to the part of the par

his life to writing and talking, with rare eloquence and power, about the despoint of the past and the concerns of the present. Now a U.S. citizen, Wiesel, 56, has written some 30 books and is widely eaknowledged, in the words of the Nobel committee chairman, as a "messenger to mankind." Later this month he will testify in the case of The State of France v. Klaus Barbie.

remember the nearsighted, balding man in his glass cage in Jerusalem. During the April-to-December trial in 1961, I listened to witnesses whose words and silences contained the tormented memory of an entire people. Yet I was not watching them. Most of the time I was watching the defendant. It was to see him that I had come to Israel, anxious to find out for myself if he was human, if there was any humanity in him. I had hoped to find myself in the presence of a disfigured creature, a monster whose unspeakable crimes would be clearly legible in his three-eyed face. I was disappointed: Adolf Eichmann seemed quite normal, a man like other men-he slept well, ate with good appetite, deliberated coolly, expressed himself clearly and was able to smile when he had to. The architect of the Final Solution was banal, just as Hannah Arendt had said

Will the same now be said of Klaus Barbie, who was less important but whose work was no less cruel? Barbie's trial is bound to attract worldwide attention. People are already saying this will be the last great courtroom drama to result from the Holocaust. They may be right.

For even behind bars, Barbie throws a long shadow. From the day of his capture, there were whispers that retribution could bring political catastrophe: the prisoner knows too much abover is Acquest welfse, most recently the detenced last February to life imprisonment by a French tribunal for complicity in the killings of two diplomats, one of them an American, and in the attempted murder of a third, Will Vergle's high. Barbies a guite capable of turning the tables, of forcing a

But despite these fears, there will be a Judgment Day. The official examination of Klaus Barbie begins on May 11 in Lyons, France. No one knows how the

story will end. But we know now

how it all began. Barbie, who grew up in Trier, a small town in Germany, and dreamed of becoming a minister. first arrived in Lyons at the age of 28. He was assigned the task of fighting the Resistance and getting rid of the Jews. The young, dedicated Nazi excelled at his job. He is accused of having executed 4,000 people and deported 7,500 Jews. His career grew so bloodstained that he was dubbed the "Butcher of Lyons." Yet only a fragment of that past will be weighed in the deliberations: the accusation is primarily concerned with the 44 Jew-



Klaus Barbie, circa 1940

§ ish children who, along with their guardians, were arrested on his orders in the village of Izieu and then sent to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

How can Barbie justify what was done to the children of Izleu/ Here, the proof of his crimes are beyond dispute: the Nazh hunters Beate and Serge turned up a striking document: "This morning, the Jewish children's home. Children's Colony,' at Izleu has been removed. 41 children's Colony,' at Izleu has been removed. 41 children's Colony,' at Izleu has been removed. 41 children in all, aged 31 children's been captured. Beyond that, the arrest of 13, have been captured. Beyond that, the arrest of 13, have been captured beyond that, the arrest of 13 have been captured in the arrest of 14 have been captured to 14 have been captured to 15 have

or Beate Klarsfeld, who, as it happens, was born and raised in Germany. A victory over the forgetfulness, the willingness to compromise, the indifference that an overly politicized world has shown for too long toward escaped SS killers. A victory to over the envernments that helped Barbie II was the

sized world has shown for too long toward escaped SS killers. A victory too over the governments that helped Barbie I. I was the Klarsfelds who picked up his trail—he had disappeared for almost 40 years into the identity of a prosperous and peaceful world to the control of the prosperous and peaceful work of the control of the prosperous to the control of the work of the control of the prosperous to the prosperous socialist government to act, to induce the folivious government to expel "Altmann" so that he could be returned to the country of his crimes.

The former head of the Gestapo at Lyons re-entered France n Feb. 5, 1983. On orders from Minister of Justice Robert Badinter, he was locked in the same Montluc prison where his own victims had been subjected to maltreatment and torture. It is said he spent his first night in the very cell Badinter's father occupied before he was deported to

Auschwitz, never to return.

How had Barbie eluded prosecution, not to say detection, for so long? For one thing, he had collaborated with the American Counter Intelligence Corps in postwar Europe, supplying information about Communist activities in Germany and Austria. The services of the CIC made it possible for him to flee to South America. (Most ironically, it was a young Jewish officer. 23-year-old Leo Hecht, who was ordered to provide him with his false travel documents.) For another, he had powerful friends throughout Europe. It is known that an international network ex-



The children of Izleu in the summer of 1943



isted after World War II to aid war criminals. No such escape system was ever created for their victims.

Will Barbie tell us how the network operated? Will he reveal the identity of his highly placed friends? If he does, other questions are certain to arise. The upper echelons of the CIC knew what Barbie had done; how could they reward him for it? Even in the first frosts of the cold war, was it really necessary to call upon individuals like the Butcher of Lyons? Where was honor in

all this? And memory? The French have even more to fear from the revelations or digressions of their special prisoner. Ever since Marcel Ophuls's

documentary The Sorrow and the Pity unreeled in Europe and America, people have stopped believing in the myth that France united to resist the occupying forces. On the contrary, France under Pétain fully collaborated with Hitler's Germany. It handed its Jews over to the Nazi executioners-76,000 were deported, few came back. French militia competed with the Gestapo for efficiency. French police organized the roundups. Will the nation be forced to remember its sins? Or will its citizens allow themselves to be manipulated by Barbie and Vergès, who will certainly try to show that even the Resistance was not blameless? That Jean Moulin, a leader of the Resistance who died under the hands of Barbie, was betrayed by his own comrades? In a different domain and on another level, there is some concern that the trial

will conveniently and simplistically group the various victims together-dump them all into the same file: Jews and Resistance fighters, Jews and anti-Nazis, Jews and political prisoners. In other words, that the specific, the unique, even ontological aspect of the Jewish tragedy will be lost.

Vergès and Barbie will probably try to blur the distinctions. They may go further and remind France that the nation was itself guilty of torture and murder during the Algerian conflict. War is war, they may say. In war everything is allowed. As Barbie remarked to one journalist, "The point is to win. It doesn't

In fact, The State of France v. Klaus Barbie is not a matter of war. It is a matter of truth. In Lyons, Barbie will have to answer not for his war crimes but for his crimes against

humanity. For these there is no statute of limitations. He will have to explain, for example, why he condemned

the Jewish children of Izieu. Listen to the words of one of those children, eleven-year-old Liliane Gerenstein, in a letter scrawled to God before she was taken on the road that led to the gas chambers: "It is thanks to You that I enjoyed a wonderful life before, that I was spoiled, that I had lovely things, things that others do not have. God? Bring back my parents, my poor parents, protect them (even more than myself) so that I may see them again as soon as possible. Have them come back one more time. Oh! I can say that I have had such a good mother, and such a good father! I have such faith in You that I

thank You in advance." Of what was this child guilty?

No. Lyons will not provide a restaging of the Eichmann trial. Barbie did not make policy. He was only a regional executioner, a local hangman-he merely participated, did what he was told. His operations only extended to Lyons and its surroundings. Yet if Klaus Barbie was not "important," his trial is. It can serve a vital purpose, for future generations and for our own. Certain witnesses have to be heard; certain truths have to be uttered, repeated. Will they clarify the mystery of what happened? It does not seem possible. The determination of the killer to kill, the passivity of the bystander are likely to remain incomprehensible. There is something about this Event that

eludes rational thought. Only those who were there know what it meant to be there. The others can, at best, come close to the gate. There they must stop. They will never see the fire. They will never witness the sight of children thrown into flames alive. They will never experience the fear of selections for the execution chambers. Knowledge can be shared; experience cannot. Surely not in matters related to Auschwitz

Still, we must hear the testimonies, from the victims, and from Klaus Barbie himself. For in the end they may help us to understand the deeper motivations of a Nazi killer who chose to make himself the enemy of those children and who even now thinks of himself as innocent. Was he normal, like Eichmann?

Human, perhaps? Poor humanity.



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